

TORCH

Newspaper of the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

U.S. Get Out of Africa! Victory to the MPLA!

For decades the people of Angola have been engaged in a bitter struggle to throw off the yoke of imperialist domination. Having succeeded in kicking out the Portuguese colonialists, the Angolan people now face a determined effort by the United States to crush their struggle for independence. Through the use of CIA operatives, paid mercenaries, massive aid to fake "nationalists" and help from the troops of the brutally racist South African regime, the U.S. is bent on keeping Angola (and all of southern Africa) safe for imperialist rape and plunder. The working class must rally to a fight for the right of the Angolan people—led by the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)—to be free from all foreign domination.

There should be no illusions about the recently passed Tunney amendment, which supposedly halts funds for U.S. intervention in Angola. Already, Gerald Ford has announced that he will find the necessary funds to continue U.S. intervention elsewhere. The CIA already has spent over \$26 million in Angola and it has several million in "contingency funds" not touched by the Tunney amendment. With full backing from the U.S., 2,500 to 6,000 South African troops are fighting alongside the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) against the MPLA. On January 1, the Christian Science Monitor reported that 300 American mercenaries trained by the CIA are fighting in Angola. Gulf Oil, at the request of the State Department, has shut down its operations in MPLA-controlled Cabinda and has placed in "escrow" \$125 million in royalties from past production owed to the MPLA regime.

ANOTHER VIETNAM?

The U.S. ruling class is united in seeking a coalition government as an interim solution. The MPLA's recent offensive (capturing the provincial capital at Uige on the northern front and scoring gains on the central and southern fronts) shows that the MPLA's strength and popular support cannot be defeated by puppets. No sector of the ruling class is anxious to get dragged into another costly and losing war like Vietnam. They would prefer a deal with the Russians and the MPLA.

The current splits in the ruling class are over how to get the deal and how

Continued on page 4



MPLA sympathizers taken captive by FNLA troops. U.S. and South Africa seek to crush Angolan liberation by defeating MPLA.

Free the Livernois 5!

The second trial of the Livernois Five opens in Detroit on January 21. Raymond Peoples, James Henderson, Ronald Jordan, George Young and Butch Lane face first degree murder charges for the death of Marion Pyszko during rioting last summer following the racist murder of a black youth. The Livernois Five are innocent; they are victims of a blatant frame-up engineered by Mayor Coleman Young and the Detroit Police Department to teach blacks, black youth in particular, that no militant response to capitalism's brutal racism will be tolerated.

The first attempt to convict the Livernois Five ended in a hung jury. This, despite denials of defense motions for sufficient time to prepare the case, prosecution efforts to coerce witnesses into testifying and a last-ditch attempt to sway the jury through an armed attack on the homes of two of the witnesses.

The Detroit ruling class is well aware of the slim chances it has for getting a conviction in the second trial. Angered by this, and by the exposure of their criminal attempts to rig the case (several witnesses testified at the first trial that the police

and prosecution lawyers had tried to force them to give false testimony), the champions of working class misery and oppression have turned to a more reliable form of "law and order."

On the night of December 19, defendant Raymond Peoples was beaten by more than 10 Wayne County Deputies at the County Jail. The official report filed on the incident claims that Peoples "slipped in the elevator." There is as much truth to this as there is to the murder charges themselves. Peoples was removed from his cell shortly after evening lock-up by four deputies. He was led into an elevator where four more deputies were waiting, more guards were picked up on other floors and the beating commenced. Peoples later had to be admitted to the Detroit General Hospital.

The brutal attack on Raymond Peoples is one more example of the true meaning of the Livernois Five frame-up. A conviction of the Livernois Five will be another signal to cops, right-wing thugs and Klan-type filth to step up attacks on blacks.

The Livernois Five Defense Committee, initiated by the Revolutionary

Socialist League, is actively working to build support in the trade unions, high schools, universities and the black community to free Peoples, Jordan, Henderson, Young and Lane. The Committee has scheduled a support rally for January 18 (Trinity Methodist Church, 13100 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, 7:30 P.M.), with speakers from the Legal Defense Team, Family and Friends United to Free the Livernois Five, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Labor Party and Revolutionary Socialist League. Working class militants and socialists must give active support to the efforts to beat back this latest attack on the most oppressed section of the working class—black proletarians and youth.

**FREE THE LIVERNOIS FIVE!
STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UPS!
FREE ALL POLITICAL
PRISONERS!**

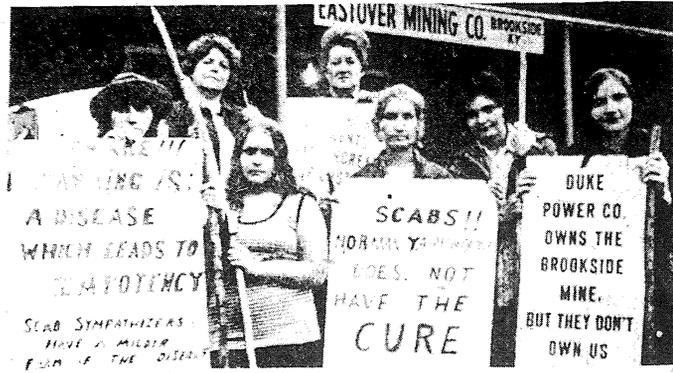
(The Defense Committee is urgently in need of funds to continue its work. Please send funds and requests for further information to: Livernois Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221.)

INSIDE: China's Foreign Policy — page 8

Centrists Sell Out Ranks — Hacks Strangle CLUW



Hacks like Olga Madar (left) kept wives of striking Brookside miners (right) out of CLUW because they lacked proper union credentials.



On December 5-7, 1975, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held a constitutional convention in Detroit, Michigan. The trade union bureaucrats who control CLUW used the occasion to consolidate their stranglehold over the two-year-old organization. They packed the convention of over 1,000 delegates with union staff members or officials, thereby affirming their determination to prevent CLUW from becoming a tool of working class women in their struggles against inflation, unemployment, job discrimination, collapsing public services and capitalism as a whole. The convention marked the culmination of the strategy held by the bureaucrats since CLUW's founding: Mold CLUW into an organization that will increase their influence in the reactionary AFL-CIO hierarchy.

During the convention most of the significant minority of so-called revolutionaries active in CLUW proved again their inability to pose any clear alternative to the bureaucrats' treason and to engage in the united fight necessary to defeat it.

The key task facing all militants and radicals in CLUW was to open up CLUW to unorganized and unemployed women. The bureaucrats, basing themselves on the more privileged layers of working women, fought tooth and nail against admitting the more oppressed unemployed and working women into CLUW. At the founding convention they refused to admit the wives of the striking Brookside Miners on the grounds that they lacked "union credentials." Since then, CLUW chapters have had their charters revoked for the "crime" of allowing women on union organizing drives to attend CLUW meetings.

Excluding these women is central to the bureaucrats' strategy. They don't want a fighting organization. They might lose control of it. They want a coffee klatch of women "labor leaders." Only by excluding and ignoring the most oppressed and potentially most militant women can they maintain their control. Any strategy which even attempted to pose an alternative to the CLUW misleaders had to address this central question of who CLUW would represent.

Supporters of the RSL fought to win CLUW's left wing to this perspective through its United Front proposal (see Torch, Vol. 2, No. 6). While leading the ongoing struggle against the bureaucrats' attempts to expel, censure and discredit individuals and chapters, it urged the left to unite and plan a serious fighting strategy for the convention.

Instead of uniting on this basis, the

centrists (supposedly committed to the needs of the most oppressed), proved their allegiance to perspectives for building their private bases in CLUW. They disagreed among themselves only over how much to capitulate to the bureaucrats, but remained united in their refusal to fight for the objective necessity of opening up CLUW to the masses of women workers.

The October League (OL) presented a disgusting example. They had committed themselves before the convention to a struggle to include unorganized women. This, however, did not prevent them from completely dropping all mention of it at the first sign of a fight. Under the slogan "unite with the middle forces" and whines of "we're outnumbered," they sat on the sidelines and refused to help RSL supporters wage a floor fight to bring in the most oppressed women!

SWP COMES OUT OF WOODWORK

The capitulations of the OL were only outdone by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). After being indistinguishable from the bureaucrats throughout CLUW's entire history, they came out of the woodwork for the convention. For several months they organized for the adoption of an "Alternative Agenda" which would have weakened Madar's attempt to totally stifle programmatic debate.

The RSL supported the "Alternative Agenda" as part of the struggle against the bureaucrats. At the caucus meeting called by SWP supporters, which drew around 200 women, RSL supporters tried to strengthen the "Alternative Agenda" by putting forward amendments to move to first place a discussion of CLUW's economic program, and to include a session on the continual bureaucratic attacks and red-baiting of chapters and individuals. These amendments were defeated.

The sisters from the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW); reported on favorably by the Spartacist League) capitulated to Madar's attacks. At the "Alternative Agenda" caucus they voted against the RSL amendments and put forward what they called "A Real Alternative Agenda." This proposal ignored the bureaucrats' constitution and the serious attack on the left and union democracy it represents. The bureaucrats' constitution eliminates the National Coordinating Committee (NCC), long a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy because of the presence of a large number of radicals. A

smaller body called the National Executive Board (NEB) primarily comprised of union caucus delegates replaces the NCC. This assures the predominance of already established labor bureaucrats—particularly Madar. Besides affirming the exclusion of over 90 percent of women, the constitution severely limits the autonomy of chapters. To fight the bureaucrats' offensive, their constitution had to be taken head-on. But the Committee for a Militant UAW failed to do this. Instead, they merely struck a pose. In their attempt to appear to be to the left of everybody else, they stood outside the fight altogether.

By the end of the caucus meeting, the SWP supporters decided that the best approach was to drop the floor fight for the alternative agenda, and instead to send three delegates to bargain with Madar! This tactic of seeking a deal with the bureaucrats has been well tested throughout CLUW's history. It only gave the bureaucrats a green light to proceed with treating democratic rights like so much excess baggage.

IS MIMICS MADAR

These gross capitulations cleared the way for the Rank and File Action Caucus, initiated by supporters of the International Socialists (IS). Instead of unifying the disintegrating fight, they resorted to bureaucratic procedures to keep debate off the floor at their caucus meeting Friday night. When an RSL supporter tried to raise the necessity of exposing the bureaucrats' red-baiting, she was physically assaulted by IS honcho Barbara Winslow! These aspiring bureaucrats will stop at nothing to prove that they're Madar's best supporters.

While the centrists jockeyed among themselves, the bureaucrats remained united on the major questions and controlled the convention: The only serious break in the bureaucrats' ranks came late Saturday night over the question of representation on the NEB. Madar's forces wanted to increase their control by limiting

chapter representation to one for every chapter over 100. Only two chapters now meet this requirement! After a motion to give every chapter one delegate failed, a motion was put on the floor to give each chapter with membership over 50 one delegate.

Many of the bureaucrats from smaller and "left"-led unions (such as 1199) supported this motion. These bureaucrats opposed Madar on tactical grounds; they want to give CLUW a more democratic and "left" face in order to better coopt working women. Since their representation on the NEB is already limited by the large number of union caucus votes required, these bureaucrats were not too happy to see Madar increase her power at their expense. As a result, on the question of chapter representation on the NEB, they were prepared to make a temporary bloc with the left and vote against Madar. Failing to get a clear majority on three counts, the chair called for a division of the house. At this point, the left joined hands with the anti-Madar forces and sang "Solidarity Forever." The motion passed but poses no real threat to Madar's plans for CLUW.

The capitulations of the majority of the centrists were capped Sunday morning by their refusal to join in a demonstration to boycott the "Tribute to Our Unions" breakfast that hosted Bella Abzug as honorary CLUW member. While supporters of the RSL, SL and CMUAW demonstrated and chanted "Open CLUW to the Working Class—Kick Out the Ruling Class," supporters of the OL and SWP crossed the picket line and tried to sneak in a side door!

This sorry performance typifies centrism. Hoping that CLUW would "take off" and become a mass organization, most of the centrists wanted to remain in CLUW without fighting its bureaucratic leadership. They hoped that they could stake out some territory as loyal oppositionists, visible enough to recruit but not so visible as to provoke the ire of Madar and Co. The bureaucrats, however, saw that they could use the centrists to give CLUW a more militant look, therefore attracting some trade union women without posing a serious threat to the bureaucrats' control.

In the past year, Madar has moved to consolidate the control of her own clique. Using the left as a club over her bureaucratic opponents, she has tightened her hold. It was only Madar's offensive that finally forced the left into opposition to protect their own bases. But in doing this, they proved only that they were no match for the bureaucrats. The exception to this pattern was the Spartacist League, which expressed its centrism in its vacillation and its preference for posturing rather than waging a serious fight.

Working class women need an organization that fights for their needs. The bureaucratic remnant of CLUW has been cut off from rank and file pressure by Madar and Co. What remains of CLUW is an obstacle to the fight to build such an organization. CLUW has become nothing but the trade union wing of NOW. The question is whether the centrists will continue to give credence to this sham.



Delegates at CLUW convention. CLUW is tool to increase power of women bureaucrats.

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S-1: Preparation for Repression

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The laws, the courts, the police—these are not neutral umpires in society but are the weapons of the bourgeoisie in its war against the working class. The trials of Joanne Little and Delbert Tibbs, the current frame-up attempts against the Livernois Five, the constant stream of injunctions against strikers all testify to this fact.

Throughout the civil rights, black power and anti-war movements of the 1960s political leaders were indicted and put on trial by the U.S. Government. Many were charged with being part of widespread conspiracies: conspiracy to incite a riot, to promote draft evasion, to bomb and kill, etc. But the pressure of the movement and the weakness of the charges led to a series of acquittals. The Nixon administration felt it needed new laws. The Justice Department and its friends in Congress began putting together a bill now known as S-1.

After two years of hearings in Committee, S-1 is being put before the Senate for a vote. Its supporters want to take advantage of the "quiet '70s" to enact new repressive legislation, to prepare the bourgeoisie for the prospect of increasing struggle in the days ahead.

S-1 is a combination of many repressive laws; it is directed against strikes, "civil disorders," demonstrations and political organizations. It escalates the war against foreign workers. It gives police and governmental officers more powers. It strengthens pornography and drug laws. It increases all federal sentences and it destroys the powers of Indian tribal courts.

AIMED AT STRIKERS

Two provisions of S-1 are particularly aimed at strikers. S-1 makes it a crime for a person to delay or obstruct the production, repair or delivery of any property particularly suited for national defense use if this is done in reckless disregard of the fact that his conduct might impair the ability of the U.S. to prepare for defense activities. A legally sanctioned strike is exempted, but anything else, a wildcat strike at a steel plant, for instance, or refusing to load scab products or arms for Angola, is punishable by three years in prison.

S-1 also sets up a way to attack legal strikes. If violence breaks out on the picket line, or if company property is damaged, workers can be arrested for attempted extortion of the employer!

The so-called H. Rap Brown law enacted in the '60s is incorporated, with minor changes, into S-1. It defines a riot as 10 people involved in "tumultuous conduct" which "creates a grave danger of injury." No "riot" ever has to occur—it is a crime to plan one. This makes every organizer for a demonstration or strike liable for arrest. A demonstration which blocks a federal function, such as delivery of mail (as a large demonstration would) or a public hearing (with a disruption "like noise"), would also be a federal offense.

Section 1861 of S-1 even makes running in a federal building, or swearing loud enough to be overheard, the crime of disorderly conduct!

The bill gives police and government officials wide powers over others. It gives federal government police (the FBI, Immigration, Postal Inspectors, etc.) the right to shoot to kill whenever they think it necessary, even if it is proven they were wrong. The bill gives the FBI and others the right to promote criminal acts and

then arrest those they had encouraged.

S-1 makes it a crime to interfere with federal police, that is, to refuse to let them bug the next apartment or in other ways aid them. In addition, the bill makes it a crime to warn someone that he is wanted for deportation. Thousands of Mexican workers, documented and undocumented alike, can be arrested under this provision.

Earlier versions of S-1 re-enacted the Smith Act making it a crime to advocate the forcible overthrow of the government "at some future time." The ink was hardly dry on this law in 1941 when it was used to prosecute the leadership of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. Recently, outside pressure forced S-1 to drop this provision in favor of one that punishes calls for immediate and easily carried out violence.

One of the cruelest sections of S-1 is the increase in the length of sentences and the revival of the death sentence. Thousands of workers, largely black are suffering in federal prisons now. This bill would set long terms for nearly every federal crime—including the new ones it creates. Refusing to testify before Congress, for example, is three years, and many crimes have mandatory minimum sentences of 10-15 years. After finding that the overwhelming number of prisoners executed were black, the Supreme Court outlawed the death sentence. S-1 seeks to resume the killings.

S-1 must be defeated. Even today, frame-ups and prosecutions to intimidate workers fighting back are common. The Livernois Five are being tried entirely on state law, for instance. S-1 would make it easier for the bourgeoisie to attack. Teaching

someone to use weapons to protect themselves against racist lynch gangs, for instance, could be an offense under S-1.

Who is for S-1? Who is against it? What will the fight over this bill look like? The forces that supported Nixon are the primary backers of the bill. They want to make moves now towards a stronger state, more capable of controlling the labor and protest movements. Another section of the bourgeoisie is against passage of the bill. They believe that current laws, such as the "anti-riot" and conspiracy laws and the sections of the Smith Act that have been court-approved are sufficient. They object to new restrictions on the press—the official secrets section. The New York Times, the Wall Street Journal and other powerful forces are in this camp. They want freedom for wide criticism and discussion as long as the country is calm, as long as there is no "clear and present danger" from the working class.

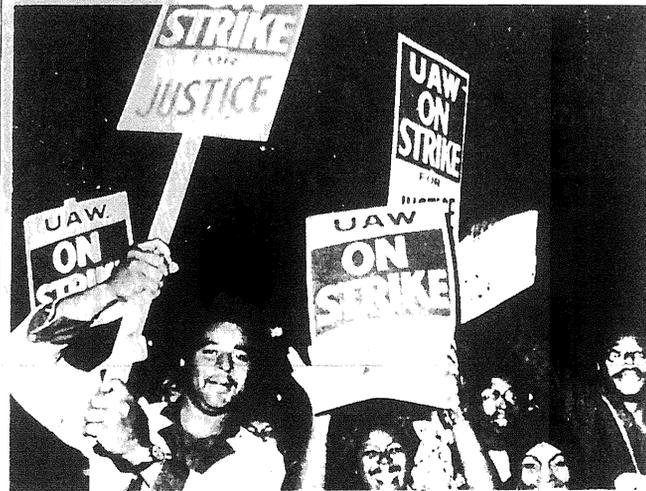
In an article in the Northwestern University Law Review, Tom Clark, former Justice of the Supreme Court and widely respected spokesman of the liberal bourgeoisie, writes: "The S-1 proposals lack the background of violent disorder which left such a strong imprint on present law.... This is not to say that stiff laws might not deter lawlessness in the future, or that a 'hard line' approach is necessarily undesirable.... The rioting of the 1960's, which perhaps justified the present statute, should not... become... justification for legislation in a period of differing social and political climate."

Groups calling themselves socialist and communist are also against the S-1. The most prominent groups in the fight against S-1 are the Communist Party and an organization it influences, the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. Their strategy for defeating S-1 is to support the liberal bourgeoisie against the pro S-1 bourgeoisie. They want to help the liberals convince others that times are quiet and there is no need for this law. They urge CP supporters to use their energies to write to Congressmen and to organize meetings for anti-S-1 Congressmen.

This strategy is deadly. It teaches that the liberals can be relied on to defend the basic freedoms and liberties. The liberals' commitment to democracy is a thin veneer. When the working class struggle does represent an immediate danger to the bourgeoisie, liberals and conservatives will agree that a hard line approach is not "undesirable." Spreading the lie that the liberals will defend our rights only makes it easier for the liberals to attack us when the time is ripe. Rather than use the fight against S-1 to strengthen one section of the bourgeoisie, we should use the fight against S-1 to strengthen ourselves and our organizations so that we can smash the entire bourgeoisie. Motions against S-1 should be introduced in our union locals and in organizations of the black and Latin communities. Demonstrations and mass education should be organized. The successful protests held against the show trials of the '60s and the movement to free Joanne Little show the effect independent organization can have. This fall, the vigorous and militant defense campaign led by the Livernois Five Defense Committee prevented the railroad that seemed certain and won a new trial. This should be our model for the movement to smash S-1.



Armed troops move down Detroit street during 1967 black rebellion. Ruling class seeks to enact S-1 now in order to prepare its machinery of repression for coming class battles.



S-1 contains harsh provisions to deal with strikes. Workers can be arrested for "extortion" if violence breaks out on a picket line. Labor must mobilize to smash S-1.



S-1 contains provisions to further curtail the rights of Native Americans, who have fought many militant battles against oppressive and racist treatment in recent years.

Drive U.S. Imperialism

Continued from page 1

much to concede. Ford and Kissinger threaten decisive U.S. intervention in order to convince their enemies to compromise. Their actual goal is a coalition government that preserves a fair degree of power for the FNLA and UNITA and could serve as a springboard for future action against the MPLA.

The liberals want to play on the overwhelming opposition to another Vietnam to make Angola a major issue in the 1976 elections. They too want a coalition government, but are willing to make more concessions than Ford and Kissinger. Learning a lesson from Vietnam, they are willing to give more power to the MPLA, hoping a softer stance will make it easier to negotiate a deal that will preserve some U.S. interests and influence in Angola. This, of course, still leaves open the option of turning against the MPLA at some future date.

The immediate goal of the entire U.S. ruling class is to prevent endorsement of the MPLA at the January 10 meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Twenty of the 49 African governments have already recognized the MPLA regime; not one has recognized the FNLA-UNITA "government." The U.S. realizes that its only hope at the OAU meeting is to get a recommendation for a coalition government. Ford and Kissinger would use this as a cover to demand withdrawal of Cuban troops and an end to Russian arms shipments, while covertly sending millions of dollars for the purchase of arms to the FNLA and UNITA.

The U.S. is not the only major power participating in the pro-Western power play in Angola. As part of its general support for the U.S. against the USSR, China has joined the struggle to crush the movement for Angolan independence. A December 29 statement by the Chinese government claimed that "the Soviet revisionists are the arch-criminals who have stirred up and exacerbated the civil war in Angola and undermined African unity." The statement went on to openly applaud the FNLA-UNITA-South Africa (and U.S.) alliance: "More and more African countries have risen in struggle against the Soviet social-imperialists." Rhetoric and empty phrases about "neutrality" and "peace" cannot cover their support to U.S. imperialism.

MPLA LEADS ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHT

The central question in Angola today is not "foreign intervention," but the struggle of the MPLA to lead the Angolan masses out of imperialist bondage. The foreign troops and aid supplied by the U.S. and South Africa have only one purpose—the maintenance of imperialist domination over Angola. The troops and aid supplied to the MPLA by Cuba and Russia—whatever Russia's eventual imperialist ambitions—are today aiding the fight to throw off the imperialist yoke.

The MPLA began military actions against Portuguese colonialism in 1961. Nearly crushed at the outset, it regrouped in exile to launch armed operations in Cabinda and later eastern Angola. By 1974, the MPLA was the strongest of the nationalist groups. The FNLA and UNITA ceased to be true forces for national liberation long ago. FNLA leader Holden Roberto has been collaborating with the CIA since 1962, when

U.S. President Kennedy decided he needed a foil against the MPLA.

From 1963 to 1966 the FNLA directly sabotaged the anti-Portuguese struggle by preventing MPLA detachments from crossing territory under its control to fight the Portuguese. Later, while the FNLA was almost inactive militarily, Roberto was paid \$10,000 a year by the CIA—a figure higher than the salaries of some African presidents!

In January 1975 the "40 Committee" of the U.S. National Security Council secretly transferred \$300,000

to Holden Roberto to give him "extra muscle." Payments were increased to \$200,000 a month for both Roberto and Jonas Savimbi (head of UNITA). Over \$24 million in arms and cash payments were soon added to sweeten the deal.

As opposed to these CIA-run operations, the MPLA is leading a heroic struggle for the independence of the Angolan people. However, it is important to recognize that the MPLA is a bourgeois force. Despite socialist rhetoric, the MPLA has no intention of leading the Angolan

people beyond the struggle for national independence to a seizure of power by the working class and peasant masses.

Nevertheless, the working class must give full support to a military victory for the MPLA forces, which will be a victory for the Angolan people and a defense against the blood of the U.S. working class being shed on behalf of the imperialists.

**U.S. OUT OF AFRICA!
NO ARMS, NO AID TO THE
PUPPETS OF IMPERIALISM!
VICTORY TO THE MPLA!**



Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA.



FNLA's Holden Roberto, CIA collaborator.



Savimbi of UNITA—second U.S. partner.

Angolan Struggle Threatens Detente

The U.S.-Russian clash over Angola exposes the fragility of "detente." The veneer of "peaceful cooperation" has been stripped away to reveal the maneuvering of two imperialist giants for world domination.

Having recently lost Southeast Asia, U.S. imperialism is determined to draw the line at Africa. Angola's strategic location, directly between Zaire and South Africa (the two main American props in Southern Africa) makes it of prime importance to the U.S. A victory for the MPLA would spur the guerrilla movements in Namibia and Rhodesia and could inspire the black proletariat of South Africa. With Mozambique already in the hands of Moscow-leaning FRELIMO, the U.S. bourgeoisie knows that defeat in Angola would herald its eventual loss of dominance in all of Southern and Central Africa.

U.S. BACKED SALAZAR

Formerly, the U.S. firmly backed the barbaric Portuguese colonialism of Salazar and Caetano. Over the past decade, the U.S. began to play another angle as well, working through Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, Mobutu's protégé Holden Roberto (head of the FNLA) and Roberto's former lieutenant, Jonas Savimbi (leader of UNITA). Today, with Portuguese colonial rule ended, the U.S. has thrown its entire weight into propping up Zaire and masquerading the CIA puppets FNLA and UNITA as genuine national liberation movements.

This is part of a shift in U.S. strategy. In the face of the powerful anti-imperialist movements that have dealt it body blows in every corner of the globe, U.S. imperialism has been forced to put on a different face. Direct military intervention, as in Vietnam, has for the time being given way to using sub-imperialist partners (Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East; Zaire in Africa) to do the dirty work. Where necessary, this is supplemented with CIA-controlled "liberation" movements (like the FNLA and UNITA) to make it appear that the U.S. is really the friend of the masses.

In contrast to the U.S., the Russians have supported the Angolan liberation movement for nearly two decades. In the words of an African clergyman, "Until November 11 when the Portuguese left, the Soviets were allies in the liberation struggle," while "even moderate Africans are aware that during the long struggle against

the Portuguese the Americans were backing the Salazar Government."

RUSSIA PLAYS ON MASSES' ASPIRATIONS

This reflects one arm of the overall Russian imperialist strategy. The USSR cannot compete economically for Third World markets; the U.S.'s more advanced technology enables it to undercut the Russians. The Russians' main weapon is to use their "socialist" cover to play on the masses' anti-imperialist sentiments. By supporting bourgeois leaderships of national liberation movements, Russian imperialism has been able to expand its power by manipulating the hostility to the U.S. while at the same



Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko, U.S. puppet helped to power after CIA-masterminded assassination of Patrice Lumumba.

time helping to confine these movements within capitalist bounds.

However, the Russians have always approached anti-imperialist movements warily. They carefully weigh the dangers of invoking the hostility of the U.S. bourgeoisie and the threat that the movements might break into class struggle against the Russian and native capitalists as well as the U.S.

Today, both the U.S. and Russian maneuvers occur against the backdrop of detente, which is threatened by the face-off in Southern Africa. The detente is the latest phase in decades of tacking and veering by both superpowers. To understand this imperialist truce and the conflict over Angola therefore requires a brief summary of 30 years of U.S.-Russian struggle for hegemony.

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Out of Angola & Africa



MPLA troops have recently taken the offensive and scored important military victories. Popular support gives MPLA tremendous advantage over rival U.S. puppet forces.

formerly mighty Britain, France and Germany. The new power relation was recognized in the Yalta agreement, where Roosevelt and Stalin divided the world—the USSR getting Eastern Europe, the U.S. the rest in recognition of its economic and military superiority. As part of the deal, the CP's took on the job of policing the class struggle in the U.S. sphere of influence, ordering the French, Italian, Greek and Vietnamese CPs to force the workers, who were prepared to seize power in all of these countries,

to succumb to the bourgeoisie.

Despite the fact that Stalin strengthened U.S. imperialism's grip in 1945-6, the U.S. bourgeoisie still considered Russia to be an active menace. First of all, by 1946 it was clear that the Chinese Communists were in position to rout Chiang Kai-shek—which they did despite Stalin's attempts to restrain Mao. Next, the U.S. wanted a free hand to grab the lion's share in the reconstruction of Europe, and feared the Russian army in Eastern Europe.

Finally, the western imperialists needed a club to use against left-wing opposition in Europe and in the U.S. trade unions. For these and other reasons, the U.S. ended the Yalta period and opened the Cold War. U.S. economic superiority shut Russia out of the world market. American military strength encircled the USSR with a series of alliances—NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc. Finally, the Cold War threw a political quarantine around the Eastern bloc and was the excuse for the vicious anti-communist witchhunts of the McCarthy period.

POWER STARTS TO SHIFT

By 1962, the U.S. bourgeoisie was ready to consider thawing the Cold War. U.S. imperialism, although still dominant, was slowly weakening under the blows of anti-imperialist movements in the Third World. Russia had begun to break its isolation by supporting these movements—in Africa and the Mid-East, Russia established trade relations with newly emerging nations; North Vietnam and Cuba broke completely from the U.S. grip. Faced with this power shift, the U.S. bourgeoisie reconsidered whether it could strike a new deal with Russia to relax tensions in exchange for Russian help in

preserving the status quo—just as it had been able to do with Stalin in 1945.

The remaining question was whether the Russians could be trusted. The Cuban missile crisis in 1962, when Khrushchev withdrew the Russian missiles without consulting Castro, made the U.S. realize that Russia might very well be a reliable partner.

Vietnam was the fly in the ointment. When U.S. imperialism, faced with a losing war, domestic resistance and economic crisis, was forced finally to withdraw from Southeast Asia, the stage was set for detente. In exchange for the U.S. pulling its forces out of Southeast Asia, the Russians agreed temporarily not to upset the status quo elsewhere (especially not in the Mid-East).

WHAT IS DETENTE?

The first pillar of detente, then, is U.S. agreement to recognize increased Russian influence in return for Russian help in restraining mass struggle. Subordinate to this is increased East-West trade; the Russians desperately need technology and grain from the West, and the U.S. is able to use this as a club to get the

Continued on page 15

CIA Plots Jamaican Coup

Jamaican workers and peasants face the threat of a right-wing coup. Long dominated by U.S., Canadian and British imperialism, the Caribbean island has recently been rocked by a sharp increase in the class struggle. Working class pressure has forced the liberal capitalist government (Peoples National Party—PNP) to take limited steps against the western imperialists—steps that have caused concern over the safety of their economic interests. The increasing inability of the PNP to keep the working class in check has led the Jamaican bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies to lay the groundwork for a right-wing coup by the opposition Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). Behind the JLP, masterminding its preparations, is the CIA.

In a statement headed "Capitalist Terror Approaches," the recently formed Revolutionary Marxist League issued the following warning:

The liberal capitalist policies no longer control the masses. Things are getting out of the hands of the PNP. The imperialists/capitalists therefore feel that the only way they can secure their riches is by brute-force and violence. The point is this: they wish to get rid of the PNP first and after that all progressive, revolutionary, and democratic organizations of the working class and oppressed....

We the masses must fight this danger by uniting and organizing ourselves for self-defense. We cannot rely on Manley and the PNP Government to defend us.

Does this mean we defend Manley and the PNP if his Government, and his life are threatened?

Yes we defend him! We defend him by asking that he arm the workers, oppressed and scientific socialists. At the same time, we make it clear that in no way does he represent the real interest of the working class and oppressed. But we have to say that at this time if Manley is killed, then it is we the workers and oppressed next.

The Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) combines immediate military

defense of the liberal bourgeois regime against a right-wing takeover with a call for revolutionary struggle against the capitalists (including the PNP) and imperialists: arming the workers and oppressed, abolition of anti-gun laws, abolition of the Labor Relations and Industrial Disputes Act (which virtually outlaws strikes and slowdowns), immediate nationalization of all imperialist property, large estates and news media (the power base of the right wing) under workers' control, expulsion of the CIA and cancellation of all military agreements between Jamaica and imperialist countries.

The developing danger of a right-wing coup in Jamaica can be traced back to the 1972 elections, when the PNP defeated the JLP. Despite the name "Labor Party," the JLP is not a working class party but the party of the large landowners, sugar barons

and reactionary sections of the Jamaican bourgeoisie—those most closely tied to foreign capital. The PNP is a party of the educated middle-class strata in Jamaica espousing "democratic socialist" rhetoric. It is a capitalist party through and through, one with a more "progressive" outlook than the JLP and less tied to specific imperialist interests.

Since 1972, the PNP has attempted to bail out a declining Jamaican economy by trying to cut down the ability of U.S. imperialism to dictate whatever terms it pleases. The PNP's maneuvers included the "Jamaicanization" of the banks (an increase in minority Jamaican shareholding), nationalization of public utilities and a plan with Mexico to undercut the U.S.-controlled aluminum firms by exporting bauxite to Mexico rather than to the U.S. PNP Prime Minister Michael Manley recently visited Cuba



and announced a pro-Castro line designed to attract Russian and Eastern European investments.

Worsening economic conditions and the Jamaican working class interrupted Manley's plans. Last fall the bauxite industry was crippled by strikes at Alcan, Alcoa, Kaiser and Reynolds, leading to the closure of one major plant. Public service workers interrupted electrical service, university employees struck and workers at the sugar factories due to be nationalized launched a campaign for workers' control.

The increasing inability of the PNP to keep the lid on the class struggle has set the stage for a CIA-backed JLP coup. A joint statement issued by two JLP leaders warned that the next elections would be the last and that the PNP was leading Jamaica to Communism. Armed bands of JLP thugs roamed the streets attacking militants of the PNP and its youth wing, as well as members of workers' and community organizations, laying the groundwork for the coup.

Whether a military takeover is actually launched—and how soon—will depend largely on the Jamaican working class and peasantry. The imperialists' desire for greater control is kept in check only by their fear that a coup might spark a revolutionary uprising throughout the island. The tasks before Jamaican workers are great.

The Revolutionary Marxist League is fighting to mobilize the Jamaican working class to defend against the right-wing reaction through a struggle for a revolutionary government of workers and small farmers—the only defense against imperialist aggression and capitalist exploitation and oppression. The U.S. working class must give full support to Jamaican workers in their struggle to defeat the CIA-led reaction.



Prime Minister Manley visits Cuba. U.S. seeks more "reliable" government in Jamaica.

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Omanis Battle Shah and Sultan

The Sultanate of Oman, overlooking the strategic Strait of Hormuz, is the scene of one of the world's most vicious and bitter wars. To protect the sea route for much of the world's oil supply and to maintain a stranglehold on the Persian Gulf area (which contains 70 percent of the world's oil resources), U.S. and British imperialism have armed the Shah of Iran and Oman's Sultan Qabus to crush the struggle currently led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO).

The Shah is the key to the imperialists' schemes to maintain control of the Gulf area against the rising anti-imperialist struggle. Two years ago, Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco told the U.S. Congress that Iran's "economic and military strength... is destined to play a major role in providing for stability in the Gulf and the continued flow of oil to consumer countries" against "the subversive South Yemeni-supported Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf" (as the PFLO then called itself). The Shah proclaimed his eagerness to play cop: "We are the only country which has the necessary military and economic possibilities to protect and support this region."

Iran has purchased well over \$20 billion in arms over the past six years. On December 20, 1973, Iranian troops invaded the PFLO stronghold in Dhofar province. Within a year, 30,000 Iranian troops were there. Applying the same tactics in Dhofar as the U.S. used in Vietnam, the Shah's troops massacred women and children, destroyed water wells, dropped napalm and saturation bombed the province.

Meanwhile, Sultan Qabus has built up his own reactionary forces. Since 1970, the Sultan has increased the size of his military from 4,000 to 14,000. In the same period, he has purchased \$65 million worth of jet fighters from Britain, \$47 million in anti-aircraft missiles and \$300 million in arms from the U.S.

The Omani people must fight this onslaught with far less firepower. Russian arms, trickled to the PFLO, are dwarfed by the armada of the Shah and the Sultan. U.S. imperialism, defeated in Southeast Asia and on the defensive in Africa, has demanded that it be given the say in the Mid-East. The Russians, wanting to preserve detente, have agreed.

CHINA BACKS THE SHAH

"People's China" has played an even more reactionary role than Russia. China once supported the Dhofar rebellion—until Mao initiated his alliance with the Shah in 1971. Last August, Peking Review praised the Shah's murderous intervention in Oman by noting his contributions in promoting "security and stability in the Gulf Area"—almost parroting the words of the U.S. State Department!

The present imperialists' power play continues a long history of colonial exploitation of the Omani people. For over a century, the British used Oman as a pawn in their imperialist maneuvers, keeping Oman—and especially Dhofar—one of the world's most backward areas.

The rule of Sultan Said bin Taimur, deposed in 1970 by his son Qabus, was termed "an attempt to keep the 15th century from being contaminated by the 20th." Dhofar had no schools, no

modern medicine, no water supply or sewage system and no roads—except a single recent one, for military use only. Shoes, bicycles and trousers were forbidden. Omanis were not allowed to leave the country.

Sultan Qabus employs different methods. Lured by oil money, he has encouraged development of Oman's limited oil deposits. He uses the revenue to buy the guns and planes he needs to hunt down the Omani people.

Most Omanis are poorer than ever from this plundering of their country for imperialist profits. Most of the jobs in the oil industry go to skilled

foreigners. The total number of workers is roughly 15,000, about one percent of the population.

The PFLO draws its strength from its opposition to these conditions. It attempts to modernize life in the countryside—collectivizing land, setting up schools and appealing to the tribes to work together under PFLO leadership instead of fighting each other. However, the PFLO thinks it can accomplish significant modernization in Oman alone. That's the meaning of its change in name from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf. It calls for a "new democratic stage" of capitalist economic development under PFLO leadership.

If the PFLO came to power, it could not possibly develop a country as backward as Oman on its own. It would be forced to turn to one of the imperialist powers—probably Russia. The result would be, at most, limited development and renewed exploitation of Oman, this time by Russian imperialism.



Leaders of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, U.S. and Britain arm Sultan Qabus and the Shah of Iran to crush the PFLO-led anti-imperialist struggle in Oman.

Ford Confers With Mao and Teng

Early in December 1975, U.S. President Gerald Ford flew to Peking, China, for a series of top-level meetings with Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung and acting head of state Teng Hsiao-ping. The discussions brought no concrete results. The international line-up remained unaltered and no joint communique was issued. Instead, Ford and Teng agreed to follow the policies laid out in the Shanghai Communiqué issued by Chou En-lai and Richard Nixon in 1972.

What did the parties to the talks hope to gain by them?

The Chinese rulers hoped to move the U.S. bourgeoisie towards a closer bloc with China against the Soviet Union. This is part of their present international strategy (see series on "China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line" in this and the previous issues). Hoping to play on the fears and anti-communism of the U.S. bourgeoisie, Teng raised the specter of Soviet expansionism and expressed the need for military preparedness.

Ford, representing the U.S. bourgeoisie, indicated that he was not ready to accept the Chinese offer for an alliance. Instead, he reaffirmed the policy of "cautious" detente with the USSR and defended U.S. involvement in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Ford was letting the Chinese rulers know that SALT and expanded trade with the USSR would remain central to the strategy of U.S. imperialism, at least for the time being.

For the U.S., Ford's trip had two interrelated purposes. First, the China trip served to solidify Chinese support

for U.S. imperialism throughout the world. While it reassured Mao and Teng that the U.S. will not concede hegemony to Soviet imperialism, it enabled the Chinese to affirm their support for U.S. policy in Japan, Western Europe and Angola.

Second, Ford wished to hold out the prospects of a closer alliance between China and the U.S. at the expense of the USSR. The was meant to notify the Chinese state-capitalists that if they play the game right, the U.S. might break the detente and ally with them as opposed to the Russians. At the same time, it notified the Russians that the U.S. is not permanently wedded to detente and, if the Russians want to maintain it, they had better do more than they have in making concessions to the U.S.

That Teng is acting head of state, heir apparent to Mao and was chosen to meet with Ford along with Mao is significant. To see this, a look at his history is necessary.

Teng was First Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party until 1967, the second most powerful man in China after Liu Shao-chi. He made his reputation as an administrator in the 1950s and 1960s. In the battle against corruption in the party, the Socialist Education Movement of 1963-1964, he opposed Mao's mass mobilization approach and favored a narrowly legalistic strategy. He was later quoted as having stated: "Black cats or white cats—as long as they catch mice, it's all right."

Under Mao's leadership, the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution" purged Teng from all party posts and branded

We support the victory of the PFLO. The PFLO represents a national liberation struggle whose success would deal a body blow to U.S. imperialism in the Mid-East. However, we oppose the strategy of the PFLO leadership. True liberation of the Omani people requires a fight that unites the Arab masses across the ancient tribal and national boundaries under the leadership of the proletariat and marshals the tremendous resources of the Gulf states. Neighboring Abu Dhabi, for example, has a population of only 150,000 but an oil revenue of \$5 billion a year. The resources of the oil-rich Gulf states, together with the power of the Arab working class, would provide the basis for workers' rule throughout the Gulf states, Iran and all of Arabia.

The PFLO's strategy of isolated guerrilla war is in serious trouble. On December 11, Qabus claimed that his fall offensive, spearheaded by Iranian troops, achieved "final victory" over the PFLO. While this is probably an exaggeration, it appears that the PFLO has suffered badly. Oman's terrain is much worse than Vietnam's for guerrillas, and its small population also makes guerrilla war more difficult.

Despite the PFLO's wrong orientation, the Omani anti-imperialist struggle has been waged heroically. Its defeat would be a blow to the oppressed masses throughout the Mid-East. We call on the workers' movement in this country to come to the support of the Omani struggle by demanding:

**VICTORY TO THE PFLO!
STOP ALL AID TO THE SHAH
AND QABUS!
IRANIAN TROOPS OUT
OF OMAN!
U.S. IMPERIALISM OUT
OF THE GULF!
FOR A SOCIALIST FEDERATION
OF THE MID-EAST!**

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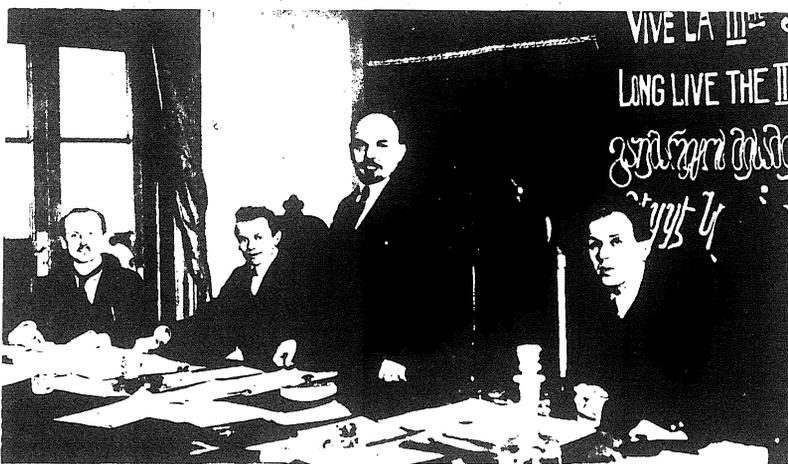
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China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line

PART TWO

Mao Betrays Leninism



Lenin at first Comintern Congress. "The thing is not to 'proclaim' internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed.... Our party must not 'wait,' but must immediately found a Third International."

by Jack Gregory

Last month we discussed the principal aspects of China's foreign policy:

1) Alliance (or the attempt to ally) with the most reactionary elements in the world (Franco, NATO, U.S. imperialism, the Shah of Iran, Chile's Pinochet, etc.).

2) Collaboration in crushing revolutionary struggles around the world. Massive economic and military aid to Pakistan's Yahya Khan and Ali Bhutto for the massacre of the Bengalis. Complicity in Bandaranaike's murder of hundreds of revolutionaries in Sri Lanka, Nimeiry's repression in the Sudan, the Shah's vicious persecution of Iranian revolutionaries and the campaign against the Dhofari rebels in Oman. Support for the CIA puppet FNLA in Angola.

3) The real basis of this policy: the attempt to strike a deal with U.S. imperialism to get better "terms of trade" and for military pacts against Russia. To do so, China tries to convince the imperialists that it is a reliable bulwark against Russia and against the workers' struggle. Because most of the U.S. bourgeoisie still favors detente with Russia, the Chinese make their filthy overtures to the right-wingers most hostile to detente and most in need of support from "socialists" for their wars against the masses.

4) The attempts by China and its apologists to justify the reactionary line, which reduce to detente that China's national interests come before the revolutionary struggle elsewhere. This means subordination of the world revolution to narrow national self-interest.

Mao and his followers claim that all this is... Leninism! This is the vilest lie of all. Diametrically opposed to Mao, V.I. Lenin insisted that the needs of the international struggle must be placed before national interests—even the national interests of a state where the bourgeoisie had been defeated:

...petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital. ["Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions"]

Clearly, the Leninist line, which demands that all national interests be subordinated to the world struggle, is completely counterposed to the Chinese

line, which demands subordination of the world struggle to Chinese national interests.

This counterposition is not accidental. It flows on the one side from Lenin's materialist perspectives for the Russian and world revolutions, and on the other from state-capitalist China's bourgeois perspectives.

WORLD REVOLUTION IS ONLY SALVATION

Lenin insisted from 1917 on that the proletarian revolution could not survive in isolation in any one country, and especially not one as economically and culturally backward as Russia (or China). The Russian proletariat could not sustain its revolution indefinitely by itself for two main reasons:

1) International imperialism would constantly attempt to smash the Russian workers' state through economic and, when possible, military warfare. The petty-bourgeois forces, especially the rich peasants (kulaks) and the old Tsarist state apparatus, were potential allies for imperialist counter-revolution.

2) The workers needed aid from the advanced western economies to create the material basis for socialism. The workers took power in Russia realizing that material conditions in this overwhelmingly peasant country would not allow them to maintain power permanently on their own. Economic scarcity meant that modern agricultural techniques could not be developed, and therefore concessions had to be made to the rich and middle peasants in order to retain the peasantry's support for the workers' state. Likewise, the workers lacked technical and administrative skill and so had to retain most of the old Tsarist state apparatus. Over time, the proletariat would be swamped by these petty-bourgeois elements unless external aid was forthcoming. Therefore, the success of the revolution depended on revolution in the economically more advanced lands where the material preconditions for workers' rule on a world scale had been created.

Lenin lucidly summarized this perspective in March 1918:

Regarded from the world-historical point of view, there would be no hope of the ultimate victory of our revolution if it were to remain alone.... When the Bolshevik Party tackled the job alone, it did so in the firm conviction that the revolution was maturing in all countries and that in the end—but not at the very beginning—no matter what difficulties we experienced, no matter what defeats were in store for us, the world socialist revolution would come.... I repeat, our salvation from all these difficulties is an all-European revolution.

["Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party"]

Concrete tasks flowed from this concrete understanding of the primacy of internationalism. Most important was the need for a world party to lead the international revolution—just as the Bolshevik Party was essential for the Russian workers' revolution. Beginning in August 1914, when a majority of the sections of the Second International shamelessly went over to the side of their respective national bourgeoisies to support the imperialist war, Lenin called for the formation of a new, revolutionary world party: the Third International.

The Third International was essential to organize the revolutionary opponents of the war into a democratic centralist organization putting forward one consistent line to guide the work of communists in every nation. Lenin insisted that the new international was needed immediately to carry out this task even though his allies were a small minority:

It is not a question of numbers, but of giving correct expression to the ideas and policies of the truly revolutionary proletariat. The thing is not to "proclaim" internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying.... Our party must not "wait," but must immediately found a Third International. ["The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution"—emphasis in original]

The Third, Communist, International (Comintern) was founded on this basis in March 1919. For the first five years of its existence—while Lenin was alive—the Comintern provided the world proletariat with a truly revolutionary leadership. Its first principle was internationalism, the need to subordinate all national interests to the world revolution.

Of course, an integral part of the world revolution was preserving the gains of the October Revolution, and therefore defense of the workers' state was a central task of workers everywhere. But this was understood in a revolutionary sense: The real way to defend the Russian Revolution was through revolutionary movements elsewhere. The Bolsheviks could not even suggest that the mass struggle in other countries limit itself in the interest of immediate Russian foreign policy goals.

The temporary tactical retreats forced on the workers' state can only be understood in this context. The Leninist state was forced to reach agreements with the capitalist states, especially in the period following the defeat of the German Communist "March Action" in 1921. The world revolution was temporarily ebbing and the Russian

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economy had been devastated by three years of civil war. But while the Soviet state reached trade agreements with Britain and established diplomatic relations with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, the Comintern carried out a revolutionary line internationally. This is why the Bolsheviks always declared that the Comintern was independent of the Russian state—in order that whatever concessions Russian state policy was forced to make (and these never involved support for crushing workers' struggles, like the Chinese policy), the Bolsheviks could continue to guide the world proletariat on a revolutionary basis through the International.

In summary, the basic points of Lenin's internationalism were:

1) Absolute need for world proletarian revolution. The Russian workers' state could not survive indefinite isolation.

2) Absolute support for the world revolution. Subordination of all national interests to the world revolution. Use of the Russian state as a bastion to further the world revolution.

3) Absolute need for a world revolutionary party to organize and lead the struggle on a world-wide basis.

4) Nothing more than the minimum concessions necessary in domestic and international policy for the workers' state to survive. State policy must not sabotage revolutionary movements elsewhere. Even where temporary tactical concessions were forced on the Russian state, the Comintern must maintain its revolutionary line uncompromised.

LENIN vs. MAO

Contrast this with the reactionary policies of the Chinese state-capitalists! Where Lenin stressed that the only hope for the Russian workers was the world revolution, the Chinese proclaim that they are building socialism (even communism!) in China alone. Where Lenin insisted that all national interests, even those of the Russian state, must be subordinated to the world revolution whenever conflict arose between the two, the Chinese demand that the mass struggle subordinate itself to the narrow national interests of the Chinese ruling class. Where Lenin insisted that a world revolutionary party was immediately necessary to organize the international revolution, the Chinese have never attempted to form such a party. Finally, where Leninist internationalism required absolute support to all revolutionary struggles, the Chinese crush these struggles in the name of national interests. Just to place the two side by side is to reveal how cynical is the claim that China's foreign policy is a Leninist policy!

The Chinese do have a historical basis for their reactionary line, however. It is based on Joseph Stalin's counter-revolutionary "theory" of Socialism in One Country, a formula claiming that socialism can be achieved in a single isolated nation-state. This throws out all of Leninism.

Stalin's doctrine grew out of the Russian Revolution's isolation and consequent degeneration. Layers of the Bolshevik Party, demoralized by the delay in the world revolution (and reinforced by lay-

ers of the old Tsarist apparatus, former Mensheviks and counter-revolutionaries) were susceptible to Stalin's assurance that the workers' state could succeed permanently on its own. In isolation, the bureaucratic apparatus grew out of all proportion in size and power, exerting an insidious, conservative and chauvinist pull on the party. Concessions made to retain the support of the peasantry strengthened the kulaks, and sectors of the party began to adapt to the petty-bourgeois and nationalist pressures of the rich peasants.

Stalin played on demoralization, cynicism and petty-bourgeois adaptations to consolidate his bid for power. "Socialism in One Country" was the banner under which he rallied these forces. It meant strengthening the apparatus and the kulaks against the workers. It meant abandonment of the world revolution—which it declared was now off the agenda—in favor of exclusively Russian national interests ("building socialism" in Russia).

To carry out this repudiation of Lenin, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat had to be defeated. This meant crushing Leon Trotsky and his supporters—the advocates of Leninist internationalism, unequivocal support for the world revolution and defense of the interests of the Russian workers.

Stalin gathered support by dredging up old differences that Lenin and Trotsky once had on the nature of the Russian Revolution—differences which had been resolved prior to the October Revolution. Until 1917, Lenin held that material conditions in Russia were insufficiently developed for the socialist revolution. Instead, he called for a democratic revolution. Because the Russian bourgeoisie was too tied to imperialism to make its own revolution, Lenin called for the proletariat and peasantry to carry out the bourgeois-democratic tasks in a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." When pressed, Lenin held open the possibility that this democratic dictatorship might be transformed into the dictatorship of the proletariat if revolution broke out in the west.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION OR SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY?

Trotsky agreed with Lenin that the bourgeoisie would not lead the democratic revolution. He also agreed that material conditions in Russia could not indefinitely support workers' rule. Trotsky argued that the weakness of the bourgeoisie meant that the proletariat would lead the democratic revolution. But in order to consolidate its power, the proletariat could not stop at the bourgeois-democratic tasks. Basing his analysis on the leadership of the workers' soviets in the 1905 revolution, he argued that the proletariat could only succeed if it established a proletarian dictatorship based on soviets and supported by the peasantry. Although material conditions in Russia were not ripe, the proletarian dictatorship could succeed if the revolution spread to the west, since material conditions were ripe on a world scale. Once in power, the workers must count on revolution in the more advanced capitalist states to provide the necessary



Chinese CP glorifies Mao. Revolutionary leadership is made of different stuff. Lenin considered that the Third International was the Bolsheviks' primary task. Mao, for good reason, has never burdened himself

material support. This, in brief, was Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution.

Upon his return to Russia in 1917, Lenin abandoned his theory of the democratic dictatorship. Learning of the leading role of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in the February 1917 anti-Tsarist revolution, he realized that his previous theory was now inadequate. Immediately upon his return from exile, Lenin wrote in April 1917:

The person who now speaks only of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of "Bolshevik" pre-revolutionary antiques [or, as one might call it, the archive of "old Bolsheviks"].

["Letters on Tactics"]

This broadside was directed especially at "old Bolsheviks" Stalin and Kamenev, who gave the worst interpretation to Lenin's former line in March of 1917, tailing after the Mensheviks to make sure the revolution stayed at the "bourgeois-democratic stage" and arguing against all power passing to the workers' and soldiers' soviets. Clearly, Lenin abandoned his old formula in practice and came into agreement with Trotsky's permanent revolution theory. From then on, as we have seen, Lenin insisted that the workers could and must take power in Russia and secure their rule by spreading the revolution internationally.

MENSHEVISM REVISITED

Stalin resurrected this long-buried disagreement in 1924, relying heavily on Lenin's earlier attacks on the permanent revolution theory to slander the Trotskyists. Only now, Stalin turned his old position on its head. Having previously maintained that material conditions were not ripe for proletarian revolution, he turned around to claim that it was Trotsky who had this Menshevik line:

What difference is there between Trotsky's theory and the ordinary Menshevik theory that the victory of socialism in one country, and in a backward country at that, is impossible without the preliminary victory of the proletarian revolution "in the principal countries of Western Europe"? As a matter of fact, there is no difference.

["Problems of Leninism"]

Stalin, the former advocate of "the ordinary Menshevik theory" now claimed that he was the true revolutionary optimist. He accused Trotsky of "lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of the Russian proletariat" because Trotsky held to Leninism and insisted that socialism could not be built in Russia alone. Beneath Stalin's "optimistic" cover was contemptible cynicism about the world revolution. Only by arguing that the proletariat would not rise for decades in the west could Stalin make his theory hold together. He helped fulfill this

prophecy by selling out the numerous opportunities that arose over the years—by subordinating them to narrow national interests.

Nor was "Socialism in One Country" about the Russian workers. The theory had proved itself capable of anything it could not sweep away objectively with its magic wand. Conditions of the world could only be resolved through external proletarian accumulation coming from the workers. As it turned out, the theory could not sweep away objectively with millions of lives. Between the real wages were cut in half as the theory itself into a capitalist class and the workers' state.

Stalin also resurrected the theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" that Lenin discarded. He applied it to the colonial world. Lenin never used it—craven bourgeoisie to make the democratic dictatorship of Communist Parties (the Chinese section) into bourgeois parties. Domestically, this had Stalin's proclamation that ever since the proletarian revolution, the peasantry and heroically revolutionary workers have the winds Lenin, who had won the peasantry presented to the

"Trotsky underestimates the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry," Stalin had to assign blame to the peasantry; since the peasantry, workers numerically in Russia, that socialism could be built without the revolution necessarily had to rely on the peasantry and declare that they were socialist-minded. This is the nature of Marxism—consistent with Stalin's theory.

STALIN: CYNICAL GRASP OF REVOLUTION

By playing on the old disaffection of Lenin and Trotsky, Stalin's degeneration of the revolution into isolation. Exploiting the bourgeois ideology from alienating the growing cynicism in the possibilities for revolution, he defeated the Trotskyists. His cynicism, his total dishonesty and all of Leninism, can be seen following: Stalin's pronouncement that One Country was presented in the form of Problems of Leninism, published in 1924. This version completely contradicted the first edition written a few years earlier.

...But to overthrow the power of



State capitalism cannot develop China's backward economy. Abandoning fundamental Marxism, Mao proclaims not just socialism but communism, the abolition of all classes and the state, can be achieved in China without world revolution.



...s Mao. Revolutionary leadership is made of different stuff. Lenin considered that the construction of the party was the Bolsheviks' primary task. Mao, for good reason, has never burdened himself with an International.

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...now speaks only of a "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." In the times, consequently, he has in effect abandoned the petty bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie; that person should be conscious of "Bolshevik" pre-revolutionary work. One might call it, the archive of "old Bolshevik tactics".

...he was directed especially at "old Bolsheviks" like Lenin and Kamenev, who gave the party a return to Lenin's former line in March 1923 after the Mensheviks to make sure they stayed at the "bourgeois-democratic dictatorship" against all power passing to the hands of the soviets. Clearly, Lenin abandoned his formula in practice and came into line with Trotsky's permanent revolution theory. In short, as we have seen, Lenin insisted that the party could and must take power in order to ensure their rule by spreading the revolution internationally.

BOLSHEVISM REVISITED

...ected this long-buried disagreement between Lenin and Trotsky heavily on Lenin's earlier attacks on the theory of revolution to slander the party. Only now, Stalin turned his old line. Having previously maintained that conditions were not ripe for revolution, he turned around to claim that the party had this Menshevik line:

...is there between Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution and the Menshevik theory that the victory of socialism is a task of a backward country at a stage without the preliminary victory of socialism "in the principal countries of Europe"? As a matter of fact, there is no difference.

...former advocate of "the ordinary theory" now claimed that he was the party's optimist. He accused Trotsky of "exaggerating the strength and capabilities of the proletariat" because Trotsky held to Lenin's theory that socialism could not be built in a backward country. Beneath Stalin's "optimistic" facade is a deep cynicism about the world revolution, by arguing that the proletariat in the west could Stalin hold together. He helped fulfill this

establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of Socialism. The chief task, the organization of Socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed and secure the definitive victory of Socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie; this is what the history of our revolution proves. But for the definitive triumph of Socialism, the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are needed. [Emphasis added.]

This is strangely reminiscent of the "Trotskyite" theory of the permanent revolution. Doesn't Stalin "underestimate the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry" of this essentially rural country? Doesn't he demonstrate "lack of faith in the Russian proletariat?"

Stalin could not repudiate Leninism whole. He required at least "two stages."

STALIN DESTROYS COMINTERN

Based on the repudiation of Leninism, Stalin destroyed the Comintern. Since Russia could supposedly attain socialism on its own, the task of the workers of the world was supporting Russia's national interests before proletarian revolution. The British General Strike of 1926 was crushed largely because Stalin insisted that the CP maintain a long-term bloc with right-wing Labor Party leaders and union bureaucrats who temporarily supported trade with Russia. The Chinese Revolution of 1927 was smashed because Stalin chased after another "friend" of the U.S.S.R., Chiang Kai-shek; Chiang was admitted into the Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party was liquidated into the Kuomintang, and when the workers of Shanghai rose in a general strike against a bloodbath planned by Chiang, the CCP ordered them to bury their arms and return to work, allowing the Kuomintang to enter the city and massacre the workers. Chiang crushed the most class-conscious sections of the Chinese proletariat.

Following the disastrous consequences of his liquidationist line, Stalin flipped completely and embarked on the suicidal "Third Period." The parties of the Comintern were instructed that all other tendencies—Trotskyists, centrists, Social Democrats—were "social-fascists" who were to be treated like fascists. The CPs were forbidden to make united fronts with these organizations. This made it impossible to reach the ranks of the mass German Social-Democratic Party and form a united front against the threat of Hitler's fascist mobs. Because of this, the CP deepened the split in the German proletariat and paved the way for Hitler's rise to power.

The failure to review this betrayal of the international revolution and return to a revolutionary course demonstrated the Comintern's total bureaucratization. It was the death knell for the Comintern as even a distorted revolutionary instrument.

By 1936-1938, when the Stalinist counter-revolution was being completed in Russia, the Comintern was openly counter-revolutionary. In the west, the CPs were marched into support for the "peace-loving" imperialist bourgeoisies of Britain, France and the U.S. In Spain, Stalin's agents devoted their energies to shooting down revolutionary workers who refused to accept Stalin's edict that the struggle must be held to the "bourgeois-democratic stage."

Even the decaying corpse of an International was a hindrance to the Russian state-capitalists. Stalin officially liquidated the Comintern in 1943. Stalin's "internationalism" consisted of demanding that the Communist Parties maintain the tightest possible relations with the liberal capitalists, unless Russian national interests demanded a brief break with this. In the revolutionary period following World War II, Stalin commanded the French CP to order the workers to turn their arms over to De Gaulle; the revolutionary workers of Greece were slaughtered by British troops intervening under Stalin's sanction, etc. Under these circumstances, an international party was unnecessary to carry out policy and could be an embarrassment if individual parties raised objections to the Moscow line that was physically destroying their cadres.

The practical consequences of "Socialism in One Country" were crushing both the workers' state and its only salvation, the world party representing the world revolution. The same "theory" underlies China's reactionary international (and domestic) policy.

There never was a proletarian revolution in China (see "How the R.U. Restores Capitalism, Part III," Torch: Feb. 15, 1975), and therefore

Mao was never burdened with an International. Nor did he ever attempt to create one. For good reason.

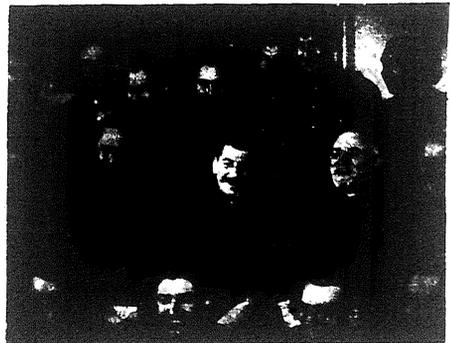
Rendering Stalin more profound, Mao declared that not just socialism, but communism, the abolition of all classes and the state, could be achieved in China without world revolution. For Mao, as for Stalin, the concrete application of this line meant subordinating, and if necessary crushing, revolutionary movements in states China wanted to ally with.

How could Mao form a world party? Today, he would have to preside over an International in which his capitalist foreign policy would support the systematic liquidation of section after section in order to serve China's narrow capitalist interests. A Maoist international would have seen its sections in Bangla Desh and Sri Lanka butchered to the applause of the Chinese rulers and to the rhythm of fire from Chinese-supplied arms. The Spanish section would have to rationalize China's mournful condolences to Franco; the Iranians would have to deal with naked support to the Shah. Such an international could only compromise China's reactionary line, since national section after national section would be up in arms against the Chinese.

It has been far more effective to let the Maoists pretend that China fights a "two-line" struggle—that it really supports revolutionaries even while it denounces them and arms their hangmen. This is either a cynical lie or a utopian dream. The Bolsheviks, who never engaged in the kind of reactionary policy that the Chinese do, were able to maneuver in state policy within limits and on a temporary basis when the world revolution ebbed precisely because they could carry out a revolutionary line through the Comintern. The Chinese have no international party because they will not carry out such a line, because they are a capitalist state with a capitalist policy and want no responsibility for revolutionary movements that might compromise their reactionary alliance with imperialism.

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Especially today, when the world revolutionary movement is surging forward, the key task for revolutionaries is to build an international revolutionary party. The Maoists argue that "there is not yet



Stalin at the 15th Party Congress in 1927 following Trotsky's expulsion from the Bolshevik Party. Stalin purged entire Bolshevik leadership to consolidate state capitalist rule.

enough clarity," that larger national sections must first be built. We have seen that Lenin dismissed these arguments and formed his international with a tiny minority of socialists. Leon Trotsky followed the same course in 1938 when he founded the Fourth International while centrists sneered that its numbers were small. Were China revolutionary, proletarian internationalism would obligate it to take the same road. Instead, it tries to annihilate the revolution.

Today, as the true nature of China's reactionary line is revealed for all to see, it is essential that every serious revolutionary denounce this counter-revolutionary policy. It is necessary to understand the unity between the Chinese line and the Russian line, and their common basis in state-capitalist societies hiding behind the slogan of "Socialism in One Country." It is necessary to return to Lenin's internationalism, expressed in Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, and set out on Bolshevik principles to reconstruct the revolutionary heir to the Comintern, the Fourth International.

Part Three of this series will reveal the confusion and right-wing direction of the U.S. "Maoist" tendencies that try to justify the Chinese line, and will show that these groups already have drawn some of the most counter-revolutionary positions possible in seeking to cover for the Peking state-capitalists.



Life is fun and games for UAW hacks Fraser and Woodcock. For hundreds of thousands of rank and file auto workers life is a back-breaking job on an assembly line or no job at all.



Mass march against unemployment called by UAW in 1959. 15 years later, layoffs are rampant. UAW's power must be mobilized to fight for shorter work week at no loss in pay.

Auto Workers Need 30 for 40

At one point last year over 250,000 auto workers were on the streets. Today, over 60,000 remain on indefinite layoff. Thousands more have lost their recall rights and may never get back into the UAW. These figures emphasize why job security has to be a major focus of the contract fight this year. The only proposal that can meet auto workers' need for job security is a shorter work week at full pay—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. This would result in over 200,000 additional jobs in auto and provide work for all of those laid off.

The present UAW leadership, however, looks at the contract on the basis of what the corporations can afford and what they can slip by the ranks. Doug Fraser, UAW vice president, claims the bosses are doing a "rational" job of production scheduling. He warns auto workers against holding "unrealistic prospects" of any gains in employment. In other words, he is telling the 60,000 still on layoff not to get their hopes up, because the corporations can't afford to hire them back.

The logical result of this attitude is Leonard Woodcock's "bonus hours" scheme. Woodcock is willing to fight for "39½ for 40," but with a catch. Under this plan, an autoworker would accumulate a half hour bonus time for every week he puts in 40 hours. After 16 weeks of not missing a day, a worker could take one day off. Understandably, the ranks aren't too enthusiastic over this plan.

The fight for a shorter work week at full pay as the solution to layoffs has been a central demand since the founding of the UAW. But each time it has been raised, the leadership, unwilling to go beyond the walls of "what the corporations can afford," sold out the struggle. The late Walter Reuther supported the 30 for 40 demand on paper in 1944 and 1947, but dropped it in 1950 because of increasing layoffs. In 1958, the demand was the focal issue for the contract. Speeches by UAW officers and articles in official UAW publications argued over the merits of four eight-hour days against five six-hour days. However, by the 1958 bargaining convention, Reuther slipped in a last-minute reversal. He substituted a reactionary "profit sharing" scheme for the shorter work week. The reason? Rising unemployment and high inventories made a shorter work week "impractical" (for the corporations). Just when the ranks needed it most, that is, just when layoffs were increasing, the bureaucrats backed off to save corporate profits.

As capitalism continues to decay and the auto corporations sink deeper into financial trouble, the corpora-

tions' ability to provide a decent standard of living to their employees vanishes. GM's Chairman Thomas Murphy responded violently even to Woodcock's bonus hours scheme, ranting that any shorter work week must be tied to greater productivity, that is, speedup. The Solidarity House gang, by accepting the "profits first" approach of the corporations, is conceding in advance the fight against the bosses' attacks.

The lower levels of the bureaucracy are feeling more heat from the ranks on this issue. Frank Runnels, presi-

dent of Detroit Cadillac Local 22, is head of the "Four Day Work Week Committee." The committee is supported by various local bureaucrats and calls for a nine-hour day, 36-hour week. On the surface this may seem a step in the right direction, but Runnels has made it clear to the UAW executives and the auto companies that he is willing to compromise. Any compromise on 36 for 40 and you're left with... the 40-hour week. Moreover, the Runnels plan would have UAW members working a nine-hour day with no overtime pay. This would

Strikebreaking Defeated at Capitol

CHICAGO, Jan. 11—227 workers at Capitol Packaging in suburban Melrose Park have defeated a vicious attempt to break their strike. The Capitol strikers had been pitted against the multimillion-dollar Alberto-Culver firm in a 23-week strike that began August 3. Today they ended the strike by a 68-28 vote after Culver backed down from its original position and agreed to negotiate.

Culver had hoped that the small strike could be easily isolated and broken. It had refused to negotiate since September 20, when its last offer was 22½ cents per hour, three months' retroactive pay and a two-year contract. The strikers were only demanding 25 cents per hour, six months' retroactive pay for work done after the contract expired, some improvements in benefits and a one-year contract. The money at stake was small but the strikers were enraged over the way Culver was trying to push them around.

Bill Taylor, the rotten president of Local 7-507, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), which represents the Capitol workers, urged the strikers to return to work. Taylor had been responsible for the meager demands, and he did nothing to build the strike. If leadership had been left with him, Culver would have crushed the strike. But led by their stewards, the strikers overcame Taylor's sabotage, stayed out and increased their militancy.

Slowly the strike became a symbol in the Chicago area. This was in large part because the union vice-president was run over and killed by a scab truck. In late November there was a well-attended support dinner for the strike. In December, the Capitol

Strike Support Committee was organized, mainly on the initiative of members and friends of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Its work gained and increased attention to the strike in the labor movement and on the left.

In late December a march was planned for January 10 in downtown Chicago. As the date of the march approached, Culver began to get nervous about the support the strikers were receiving and called for renewed negotiations. They added a Christmas bonus of eight hours' pay and a small increase in hospital coverage to their September offer.

At the January 11 meeting that voted to end the strike, many of the strike's real leaders, including chief steward Rose Kirk, argued for continuing the strike. But Taylor's sabotage, which imposed the miserable 25 cents per hour wage demand in the face of inflation, made it difficult to convince the strikers that more could be gained once Culver's attempt to break the strike was defeated. At the January 11 meeting, Taylor took advantage of this to viciously denounce the militants who wanted to continue the strike—this after he had tried for months to sell the workers out.

Culver has failed to break the strike and the labor movement has shown it can unite and defend its members. Only the mealy-mouthed demands and actions of the bureaucrats prevented the strike from being an outright victory. As Rose Kirk said, the unity forged in the Capitol strike is a "first builder for the labor movement." Members and friends of the Revolutionary Socialist League can justly be proud of playing a large role in this achievement.

aid the bosses in their drive to increase productivity. In fact, Runnels is solidly in the Woodcock camp. His "opposition" is a sham.

Hank Wilson, resolutions committee chairman and president of Dearborn Assembly Unit of Local 600 in Ford's Rouge Complex, has come out with a set of contract demands including 32 for 40. In the past, however, Wilson has taken a hard stand against other vital needs of auto workers, such as mobilizing defense guards in his local. The real question is whether he wants to fight at all. Will he carry through mobilization of his local in support of his demands, and unite rank and file and opposition caucuses to win this struggle, or is he merely trying to build a name for himself? His intentions will become clear as the contract fight develops.

In addition to the above, a broad range of forces has come out in favor of a shorter work week. In 1974, 12 locals, including Lynch Road Assembly and Mound Road Engine, Mack Ave. Stamping and Jefferson Assembly in Detroit, the Harvester Council and locals from Ontario to Los Angeles, submitted resolutions to the bargaining convention calling for a shorter work week. As well, a number of opposition groupings are on record as supporting 30 for 40, including the United National Caucus, the Independent Skilled Trades Council and various plant caucuses. Many left organizations with supporters in the plants are also raising this demand.

The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC), a UAW caucus that is supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, has called on all of these locals, groups and individuals to join with them to fight for this demand in the coming contract struggle. Unified, these forces could put Woodcock and the corporations on notice that rank and file auto workers are determined to carry out the fight for 30 for 40 until they win. Toward this end, RAC is organizing a militant picket line at the Bargaining Convention in March in Detroit.

The fight for the real needs of auto workers, regardless of the corporations' profits, must begin with this contract round. Each sell-out contract that is signed makes building the struggle more difficult. 1979 will find auto workers in worse shape if the '76 contract doesn't begin to turn the bosses' offensive back.

**REVOLUTIONARY,
AUTOWORKERS COMMITTEE
PUBLIC MEETING:
BUILD THE UNION
DEFENSE CAMPAIGN!**

Jan. 25—7:00 P.M.
Trinity Methodist Church—13100
Woodward—Highland Park, Mich.

All militants, oppositionists and other auto workers interested in the union defense campaign welcome.

PO Workers Under Attack

Bailar Lowers Boom; PAC Calls for Fight

Postmaster General Benjamin Bailar recently announced a plan to save the United States Postal Service (USPS). This plan threatens postal workers' existence as a unionized work force.

The door to the current attacks opened last July when the bureaucrats from the three national postal unions pushed through a rotten three-year contract. This sellout contrasts with the 1970 national wildcat strike of letter carriers and other postal workers, which forced major concessions and established collective bargaining rights for the first time. Today, the bureaucrats are ready to surrender the gains won through militant rank and file struggle.

Union heads have made clear they have no intention of fighting the attacks. Francis Filbey, president of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), claims that the real problem with the postal service is that the employees bad-mouth it! Left-talking Vinnie Sombrotto, president of the large New York City carriers' local, retreats despite his tough talk. The local has reversed its previous position that it would call for a national strike if the hated Kokomo plan were implemented anywhere in the country. Now Sombrotto says he will act only if Kokomo is implemented in the New York-New Jersey region. Given his recent role, even this is questionable. Postal workers will have to organize a national fight against the wishes of these misleaders to beat back the attacks.

THREE-PRONGED ATTACK

The USPS offensive has three major goals: 1) increasing postal rates and reducing services; 2) slashing the work force and speeding up remaining workers; and 3) breaking the postal unions by eliminating collective bargaining.

Increasing first-class rates from 10 cents to 13 cents and eliminating air-mail rates will do very little for the USPS crisis. U.S. mail volume is now declining; rising rates and deteriorating service make other alternatives such as telephone and United Parcel more attractive. More important are the proposals to eliminate Special Delivery and Saturday mail delivery, which will slash more than 30,000 jobs. If USPS has its way, the remaining work force will simply do six days' work in five days. In addition, up to 12,000 rural post offices will be closed in the next period.

This is only the beginning. Since 86 percent of the USPS budget is payroll, it is "obvious" to the ruling class that cutting USPS costs requires attacking the work force. Management wants to return to the pre-1970 situation where many postal workers had to collect welfare to keep from starving. Over 100,000 jobs are to be eliminated as quickly as possible.

How can this be done when union contracts contain no-layoff clauses?

First, all temporary workers are to be eliminated. These workers have never had the slightest degree of job protection—they can be fired at will. In the past, USPS has used temporary workers to speed up the entire work force and weaken the power of the unions. They will be used this way again in the future, but for now management has decided to make temps the first casualties.

Second, subs' hours will be slashed. Subs are permanent postal employees (some have worked for USPS for 10 years or longer), but are guaranteed only four hours of work per pay

period. Unless the attacks are beaten back, USPS can eliminate as many subs as it wants simply by cutting their work week below subsistence level.

Third, many regular postal workers can be forced to quit through involuntary transfers. Under current contract provisions, postal workers can be transferred within a 100-mile radius without being paid moving expenses.

Finally, productivity schemes will drive out many workers, particularly older workers. The accident rate for postal workers is already twice that for other government employees (and higher than in auto and steel), and the heart attack rate for letter carriers before the current speed-up schemes was well above the national industrial average.

Key to the productivity drives are



Postal workers demonstrate outside New York City's General Post Office. Postal militancy must be welded into a unified national strategy to beat back latest USPS attacks.

the Kokomo Plan and the Bulk Mail Centers (BMCs). The Kokomo Plan (otherwise known as the Letter Carriers Route Evaluation System) means massive speed-up through computerization and standard-setting for carrier routes. Though the plan itself is still in arbitration and some minor changes may be made, its main features will be sanctioned. It is already in operation in Kokomo, Indiana, and Portland, Oregon, and experimentation with Kokomo-type plans is being extended to Boston and Miami.

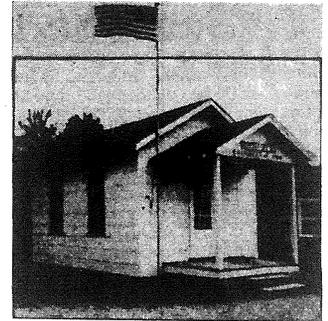
The BMCs were supposed to solve USPS's profitability problems. Huge and highly mechanized factories, the BMCs were designed to speed up the work force. As well, by building BMCs in white suburbs of major cities, USPS hoped to eliminate the militant black sector of the work force. In fact, the BMCs have improved neither service nor profits. They have been boondoggles of corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement. Nor have they dampened working class militancy. In short, they have been an utter failure, and the plan to build more BMCs is being cancelled.

the divisions in the postal work force and the treacherous leadership of the postal unions.

POSTAL WORKERS NEED ONE UNION

Postal workers are currently divided into three national unions; almost 50 percent of the work force is non-union. Militant postal workers must demand merger into one industrial union and fight for the closed shop. Immediate steps in this direction can be taken by organizing cross-union rank and file committees to build a national response—to prepare to strike to beat back the attacks. These committees can win large numbers of currently non-union workers to the unions by showing that the unions can be used and transformed into militant organs of working class defense.

The current union leaderships, far from fighting to merge the postal unions around a militant strategy, rely on the divisions in the work force to maintain their individual baronies. The struggle against the USPS attacks will require massive pressure from the postal ranks to get any



USPS plans to close down more than 12,000 rural post offices; the elimination of vital services strikes at the entire working class.

action out of national misleaders like Filbey and Rademacher. At the same time, postal workers must be building an alternative class struggle leadership in the postal unions. The Postal Action Committees (PAC) of New York, Chicago and Detroit have begun this task.

PAC's strategy for the immediate fight includes:

1) Calling on all union locals to adopt the following defensive demands: No Reduction in the Work Force—No Layoffs! Make All Subs and Casuals Regulars! No Forced Transfers! No Post Offices Closed—No Reductions in Service! Hold the Line on Work Rules—Smash Kokomo! Smash the Hiring Freeze! Voluntary Overtime! Roll Back the Increased Postal Rates! Make the Bosses Pay! Prepare to Strike to Beat Back the USPS Attacks!

2) For local, regional and national coordination. Begin now to organize local and regional conferences of all postal workers to hammer out a strategy, make necessary preparations for action and overcome the current divisions in the postal ranks. The principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all" must become a guiding rule for building the struggle. Rank and file representatives from the most militant and best organized locals must be sent around the country to aid in mobilizing and coordinating other locals into a fighting national force.

This kind of preparation and program will make a powerful national postal strike possible. (Even in 1970, when the strike was very poorly coordinated, federal troops were completely ineffective in breaking the strike.) Such a national strike could win the sympathy and support of large sections of the working class who are engaged in the same struggle against capitalism's attempt to make the working class pay for the economic crisis. Postal workers must make every effort to build this mutual working class support as the key to a successful strategy.

Postal Action

Beat Back USPS Attacks!
Build a Fighting Leadership
in the Postal Unions!

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In 1959, 15 years later, layoffs are shorter work week at no loss in pay.

the bosses in their drive to be productivity. In fact, Run-solidly in the Woodcock camp. "Opposition" is a sham.

Wilson, resolutions commit- chairman and president of Dear- assembly Unit of Local 600 in Rouge Complex, has come out a set of contract demands ng 32 for 40. In the past, r. Wilson has taken a hard gainst other vital needs of auto s, such as mobilizing defense in his local. The real question her he wants to fight at all. carry through mobilization cal in support of his demands, te rank and file and opposition s to win this struggle, or is he trying to build a name for? His intentions will become the contract fight develops.

In addition to the above, a broad f forces has come out in favor rter work week. In 1974, 12 ncluding Lynch Road Assem- Mound Road Engine, Mack ramping and Jefferson Assem- Detroit, the Harvester Council als from Ontario to Los submitted resolutions to the ng convention calling for a work week. As well, a number ition groupings are on record rting 30 for 40, including the National Caucus, the Inde- Skilled Trades Council and plant caucuses. Many left tions with supporters in the re also raising this demand.

Revolutionary Autoworkers ee (RAC), a UAW caucus supported by the Revolutionary League, has called on all of als, groups and individuals to h them to fight for this in the coming contract Unified, these forces could dcock and the corporations e that rank and file auto are determined to carry out for 30 for 40 until they win. this end, RAC is organizing a picket line at the Bargaining on in March in Detroit.

ght for the real needs of auto regardless of the corpora- profits, must begin with this ground. Each sell-out contract signed makes building the more difficult. 1979 will find kers in worse shape if the '76 doesn't begin to turn the offensive back.

REVOLUTIONARY
WORKERS COMMITTEE
PUBLIC MEETING:

BUILD THE UNION
DEFENSE CAMPAIGN!

Jan. 25 - 7:00 P.M.
Methodist Church - 13100
Hurd - Highland Park, Mich.

itants, oppositionists and
to workers interested in the
defense campaign welcome.

EDITORIALS

'76 Contract Round: Key Battles Ahead

1976 will be a pivotal year for the U.S. working class. The capitalists' drive to stimulate the economy at the expense of workers and the unemployed will be challenged by 4.5 million unionized workers whose contracts expire this year.

The capitalists are currently trying to deepen the shallow and fragile upturn in the U.S. economy by keeping unemployment up around 8 percent, cutting real wages and increasing productivity through speed-up. They know that their economic stability will ultimately depend on imposing much harsher measures, which will require eliminating the unions' ability to defend workers' interests. Already, their strategy points toward breaking the labor movement in the next period. This approach includes:

1) Vicious attacks against public employee unions—including wage freezes, mass layoffs and breaking contracts—to weaken these unions and to hit unemployed workers dependent on public services.

2) Particularly heavy assaults on newer and weaker unions, such as the postal workers' unions (see article on page 11).

3) Bringing the weight of the entire bourgeoisie and the state apparatus against the construction unions, with the help of the construction union bureaucrats, to drive down the gains construction workers have been able to make in this giant industry dominated by small employers. (We will discuss this in more detail below.)

4) More cautious action against the major industrial unions. The goal here is to avoid premature confrontations while trying to increase speed-up and hold the line on real wages.

The contract round threatens to undermine this strategy. Contracts run out for many of the major industrial unions. If these unions successfully defend their interests, they will reverse the pattern the capitalists have been establishing. Strikes in these key industries could spark a major upsurge throughout the working class.

The ranks will be in a mood to start this fight. They will be attempting to defend their living and working standards and to make up losses suffered during the 1973-75 depression. The main factor holding them back will be the bureaucrats. Here is how the situation shapes up in the key areas:

Teamsters

The first big test of forces comes on March 31, when the Master Freight Agreement (MFA) expires. The MFA covers 436,000 truckers and warehousemen in the International Broth-

erhood of Teamsters (IBT) and the Chicago Truck Drivers Union.

IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons is in trouble. Public heat is on the IBT over the pension scandals, Jimmy Hoffa's murder and widespread violation of the MFA in the New York-New Jersey area (condoned by Fitzsimmons). Fitzsimmons' slavish devotion to the ruling class makes him a most unlikely candidate to lead the first nationwide truckers' strike. But widespread opposition to Fitzsimmons, centering around the Hoffa forces in Detroit's Local 299, points to a showdown at the IBT convention later this year. Fitzsimmons has to come up with a contract which at least looks like a victory. In recent weeks, Fitzsimmons has upped his bargaining demand from a 30 percent to a 40 percent package increase.

Rubber

The 68,000-member United Rubber Workers Union (URW) faces an uphill fight when its contracts with the Big Four (Goodyear, Goodrich, Uniroyal and Firestone) expire on April 20. The 1973 contract, a 6 percent package with no cost of living allowance (COLA), resulted in a 15 percent loss in real wages. The rubber industry itself is still in a depressed state, with 14 percent unemployment and a number of plant closures in recent months. A prolonged strike will probably be necessary to win the big gains in wages, COLA, supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) and pensions needed to bring the URW back to what it lost over the last three years.

Construction

Major construction industry contracts involving 117,000 workers expire May 31. Altogether, contracts for 500,000 building trades workers expire in 1976. What looked like a year of general peace in the construction industry has been turned upside down by President Ford's veto of the construction labor bill.

The construction labor bill, hailed by the labor bureaucracy as a major advance, was actually a rotten deal. The goal of the bourgeoisie was to overcome the decentralized character of bargaining in the construction industry. Secretary of Labor Dunlop's proposal would have set up an "impartial" board empowered to postpone strikes for 30 days, and to bring in the national unions and major contractor associations to settle local disputes. This plan was explicitly billed as one which would hold down wages and prevent strikes.

To get the construction unions to accept this anti-labor legislation, Dunlop and Congress were prepared

to concede "common situs" picketing rights—with constraints, of course. Common situs, which would enable union locals to picket and shut down entire construction sites over disputes with any one subcontractor, has been a goal of the building trades unions since it was ruled illegal in 1951. The amendments passed to the common situs provision—requiring 10 days' notice and approval of the national union before it could be used—greatly limited its effectiveness.

Ford, despite his previous support for the bill, capitulated to right-to-work opponents headed by Ronald Reagan. Militancy in the building trades is now at the explosion level.

Electrical

Contract expirations with General Electric and Westinghouse in late June and early July will be handled by the 12-union Coordinated Bargaining Council initiated by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) in the 1969-70 General Electric strike. The lack of a single industrial union incorporating all workers in the GE and Westinghouse empires hurts electrical workers' ability to defend their needs.

Renegotiation of COLA and SUB will be key issues. At present, GE supplements unemployment compensation only up to 50 percent of take home pay (as contrasted to the 90 percent plus in the UAW), while Westinghouse pays no SUB at all until state unemployment runs out. The UE has made the demand for a shorter work week an important part of its program, but it will almost certainly be squelched by opposition from both the companies and the more conservative unions.

Auto

The biggest question mark of the contract round is the United Automobile Workers (UAW). Over 800,000 workers are covered by the UAW contracts with automakers and agricultural implement manufacturers which expire in September. UAW head Leonard Woodcock, who failed to lift a finger when over a quarter of a million auto workers were laid off last year, is preparing his sellout. He has stated that economic issues "will not be a factor"—meaning no fight. The sham "bonus hours plan" (see article on page 10 of this issue), with which Woodcock sought to undercut the growing movement for a shorter work week with no loss in pay, has already been substantially discredited.

Woodcock may be forced to call a strike at Ford, particularly if the previous contract struggles are heated. One possible UAW strategy is to stall the auto negotiations until a settle-

ment can be reached in agricultural implements, which is currently more financially sound.

Because the ruling class is moving cautiously against the industrial unions, these workers will not be hit as hard as other workers. But to successfully reverse the capitalist attacks, workers must do more than be thankful that they're not being hit as hard as the unemployed and public employees. They must organize to unify their struggles and to link them with the other sectors of the working class. If they don't, it won't be long before the fate of the worse-off sectors becomes their own.

Therefore, besides the immediate demands on wages, COLA and against speed-up, the unions must provide leadership to all workers.

To unite with the unemployed and smash sky-high unemployment, the industrial unions must fight for cutting the work week with no loss in pay to provide millions of jobs—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. This must be coupled with the demand for a massive public works program under union control and at union wages, to provide jobs and services; this would ierge unity with the public employees and the unemployed.

To fight the capitalists' attempts to break the trade unions sector by sector and to grind down the unemployed, the working class needs its own party. The trade unions must defend workers' interests by presenting an alternative to the capitalist tools, the Democrats and Republicans. They must form an independent party of the working class, a labor party.

A coordinated fight on this basis could build on the tremendous potential the contract round gives the working class to roll back the bosses' attacks, and go on to develop a united mass struggle challenging the entire capitalist system. By demonstrating in practice how the trade unions can use the contract round to defend their interests and the interests of the entire class, revolutionaries can play a vital role in leading mass struggles in 1976 and in forming the basis for a mass revolutionary party.

FUND DRIVE

The Revolutionary Socialist League's second fund drive of 1975 ended December 15. Including late-arriving pledges, the total raised was \$9,626 or 107 percent of the goal of \$9,000. A further \$500 contribution to offset increased expenses raises the total to \$10,126.

The League thanks its members and friends who have given so generously.

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NATIONAL TOUR

State Capitalism and the Fight for Socialism

Speaker: Ron Taber, RSL National Secretary

ST. LOUIS: Saturday, Jan. 17; St. Stephens, 14th and Park; 3:00 P.M.

CHICAGO: Sunday, Jan. 18; 160 North Halsted; 3:00 P.M.

NEW YORK: Saturday, Jan. 31; Washington Sq. Methodist, 135 W. 4th St.; 7:30 P.M.

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LETTERS

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Landy Charges League Cover-Up

[The Torch prints Sy Landy's "Open Letter" since, despite its intentions, the letter enables further clarification of the reasons for his expulsion from the League.]

Dear Comrades,

Your article "RSL Expels Landy" in the December issue is a fabric of lies from beginning to end. It is designed to camouflage the real political questions being fought out in the Revolutionary Socialist League. In no sense does the article even pretend to be an explanation to the revolutionary workers of what the issues are. The article is a lie even from the point of view of the fabricated charges by which you actually expelled me. The article dares not mention the fantastical "specific incidents which led to Landy's expulsion", and it substitutes instead another fantasy list which is easily refuted by reference to the documents of the struggle between the Revolutionary Party Caucus (RPC) to which I adhered and the RSL's maneuverist and bureaucratic leadership.

My letter is an open letter, sent together with documents to various working class publications. This is necessary because, as your article proves once again, the frightened leadership of the League seeks to cover over the political questions and not expose them to debate among advanced workers. Your article only reproduces publicly the way in which you deal with political questions internally.

The article charges that "Landy violently opposed the professionalization of the RSL"; that he "described the organization's increased intervention in and leadership of the struggles of the proletariat as a drastic turn to the right"; that he "wanted a talk shop", "wanted a discussion club," and "most of all he wanted anything but a professional Bolshevik cadre organization...."

No proof or even suggestion of proof is offered. You are entitled to your wrong interpretation of my views. However, it is customary in the revolutionary movement to present at least some evidence of your opponent's position to justify your own interpretation. Let the reader see if your conclusion is warranted. But you offer nothing—because the whole thing is a cock and bull story.

Anyone reading the documents will recognize that I favored professionalization, but counterposed it to the deepening institutionalization of cliquism and bureaucratism that was being carried out in the name of Bolshevization; that I have fought for the League's increased practical activity in the class but fought against the political turn to the right; that I opposed the right wing theory and analysis that the leadership adopted in order to rationalize its new political capitulations. The notion that I wanted a "talk shop" is simply made up out of whole cloth.

The League's right turn is based on the openly stagist view that the working class is facing a "rising curve of struggle largely limited to trade union and democratic struggles." Further, you predict struggles around the world but claim "at the same time the struggles will not be united. Although the struggle in the semi- and under-developed countries will be 'joined' by workers in the more healthy advanced countries, this will not be impressed on the consciousness of the overwhelming majority of workers. The struggle will maintain its fragmented unconscious level."

You make no bones about adapting to the present "stage" thus set out. In the document on the general strike and the labor party by the editor of The Torch, you state:

"Therefore, we use the defensive general strike as a goal to be built towards, as something which requires preparation and understanding of the forces confronting the proletariat. It is not something which we in general want to call for launching under immediate

circumstances and certainly not on a national scale."

In the November Torch, the labor party slogan is clearly counterposed to the national defensive general demand;

"Revolutionary socialists demand that the trade unions lead a city-wide general strike against cutbacks and layoffs in New York and launch a nationwide labor party right now."

Your version of the labor party slogan is designed precisely to avoid a national confrontation, because you believe that the workers won't have revolutionary consciousness and that the state is too strong. Rather than using Trotsky's attitude towards the labor party as a way in which the struggle for an independent working class party can be transformed into the struggle for the revolutionary party, you choose to call for the labor party in order to avoid giving the struggle a revolutionary character.

For you, all that is possible in this stage is a reformist party. Only in the next stage, presumably, will the revolutionary party be on the agenda. Trotsky regarded the labor party struggle as one that would have to deal with open confrontations between the classes; your reformist stage party is designed to avoid confrontation. Trotsky stated that he did not call for a reformist party; you do. Your position is anything but Trotskyist.

The RSL has had a vacillating history in its use of the labor party slogan. Now it is the "foremost task" of the trade unions, given an explicitly reformist significance and justification. It is now thrown into virtually every leaflet and bulletin. The revolutionary party and the reconstruction of the Fourth International has receded into the background. It will become part of "the next stage."

The labor party is a slogan of a united front character. In itself, the labor party is a reformist conception. In certain periods of struggle the masses seek an independent party of the working class. Their real interests demand a revolutionary party; their reformist leadership, in order to maintain its control, poses the party as a labor party. The actual party created is determined by the struggle. In such conditions, revolutionaries openly state that they stand for the revolutionary party and place themselves within the labor party movement in order to transform its content into that of the revolutionary party. The reformists attempt to retain their content: that is all that is really possible now, they say.

There need not be a movement for a labor party in order to advance the slogan, but there has to be a reformist leadership which reflects the class struggle to a degree (in order to control and mislead it) and is actually fighting to some extent. To center the RSL's politics on a united front, or a call for a united front in a sustained fashion, with a bureaucracy engaged in complete capitulation is a disaster, as Trotsky proved over and over again.

Today, as against the 1930's when Trotsky advocated the labor party slogan, the reformist bureaucracy is not conducting even a half-hearted struggle. In the thirties, the labor party slogan appealed to workers who could see the significance of the idea of the militant CIO translated into a political attack against the capitalists. Today that would be meaningless. Raising the labor party cannot be a central slogan for revolutionaries at this time. It can only have electoralist and reformist meaning. In this context, a sustained united front call is capitulatory. Building the revolutionary party and the reconstruction of the Fourth International must be our central slogans.

To cover your own adoption of a "democratic and trade unionist" stage and a reformist labor party, you charge that "Landy never really broke from his 20

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RSL Replies:

Landy accuses the League of expelling him not for organizational reasons, but for his politics. He accuses us of lying when we assert the opposite. A brief sketch of Landy's history inside the RSL will make the truth clear.

The incidents that led to Landy's expulsion were a continuation of two years of indiscipline and un-Bolshevik functioning. Shortly after the founding of the League, Landy unilaterally decided to quit his post as National Secretary to move back to New York. Sacrifice is one thing, but don't ask Landy to live in barren Detroit! Landy backed down, only to prove from then on that he was capable of handling only those jobs that required no discipline, consistency or responsibility. In the course of two years, in addition to being a member of the Political Committee, Landy held the following posts: 1) National Secretary; 2) National Chairman (a temporary post established just for Landy); 3) Political Committee liaison to the Detroit branch; and 4) International Secretary. He failed at all these posts and that is why he was removed from every one.

We will relate in a moment the concrete circumstances that finally led to Landy's expulsion from the League, but suffice it to say that the League was too patient, not impatient, with Landy's antics. Valuing experience in the movement (even negative experience can provide lessons for Marxists), we were too willing to put up with his bohemian ways, his maneuverism and his penchant to turn the organization upside down every time he came up with a new "insight." All Landy's posturing about discipline and responsibility, a party attitude toward posts, about carrying forward the memory of past Bolshevik martyrs, did not alter what Landy was—a posturer. The revolutionary party is not a nursing home for tired, cynical and burnt out old men, incapable of working for the party, incapable of holding a job.

In March 1975 Landy wrote a short document. The document was hastily prepared, extremely sloppy in its formulations (as is Landy's argument) and extremely confused. In it Landy argued that the call for a Labor Party should be placed in the background in the present conjuncture and in its place the slogan of a general strike should be raised. He also proposed that the League call not merely for any old general strike but for "an International General Strike for a Workers' Government," a call for nothing less than international socialist revolution... in all countries on the same day! This was a typical Landy "contribution."

Landy's document was discussed in the League for five months and finally rejected by the overwhelming majority of the organization. The majority had no interest in downplaying the important slogan of the Labor Party in exchange for a crackpot notion of the "International General Strike for a Workers' Government." Landy's frivolous arguments were hardly a basis to alter the League position on the centrality of the Labor Party slogan. As the majority's Central Committee resolution on the nature of the coming conjuncture and the tasks of the League argued, continued emphasis on the Labor Party slogan is central in light of the coming upsurge in the class struggle, the continued decline of capitalism and the 1976 elections.

Not only did the CC resolution reject Landy's call to downplay the Labor Party slogan, but it also took up the question of the united front in general, arguing that the League should take the initiative in united front work and break from a past sectarian tendency to minimize united front activity in favor of passive propagandism. Finally, as part of a campaign to professionalize the League, the resolution proposed to remove Landy from the Political Committee (but not from the Central Committee).

Landy hadn't minded the unending debate over his International General Strike drive, but a proposal to remove him from the Political Committee was too much. Just as he had charged when he was removed as National Secretary two years earlier (but not since), Landy claimed that the League was degenerating politically

and was ruled by a bureaucratic clique. Landy summoned up all his courage... and put forward an amendment to the Central Committee resolution. All of a sudden Landy discovered that he didn't mean the Labor Party slogan should merely be downplayed; now it had to be chucked out altogether since it could only be a reformist slogan and a capitulation to the labor bureaucracy in this conjuncture.

The proposal to abandon the Trotskyist view of the Labor Party was advanced in two (yes, two!) pages of sloppily written amendments. Landy must have assumed that no one would notice that the Labor Party position had been hastily concocted to cover for his real differences with the League—he wanted a spot on the Political Committee but we wouldn't let him have it.

U.S. capitalism is in a serious crisis producing sharp attacks on the trade unions and the working class as a whole, which threaten to wipe out gains won in 40 years of struggle. United struggle, particularly political struggle, is needed. Lacking its own political party, the U.S. working class is confined to economic struggle in pursuit of its class interests. Only a revolutionary party can actually represent the interests of the working class and oppressed, yet this party does not exist today and cannot be built overnight. An important aspect of the fight to build a revolutionary party is a united front struggle between revolutionaries and those layers of the proletariat who see the need for an independent working class party but are not yet revolutionaries; i.e., are not yet prepared to join the League. The Labor Party slogan is a united front call used by revolutionaries to propose a joint struggle for an independent party, a struggle in which revolutionaries seek to win workers to the view that such a party must have a revolutionary program to truly fight for the interests of the working class.

Trotsky advanced the Labor Party demand in exactly this manner, applying the united front tactic as developed by Lenin to the U.S. situation. The slogan enables revolutionaries to fight for the course of action objectively facing the proletariat—the need for class political action—while actually leading the proletariat in struggle toward the formation of a revolutionary party.

Landy's perspective is the opposite of Trotsky's. Landy says that it is centrist to call for a Labor Party because the bureaucrats do not yet call for one. But what do revolutionaries, who constantly warn the workers of the dangers confronting the class, say?

Part of Landy's answer is correct. Political struggle is absolutely necessary. The workers need to break from pure and simple trade unionism. They need a party to organize the struggle and to fight the bourgeoisie politically. Therefore, workers must join a revolutionary organization.

But the revolutionary organization is still quite small and isolated. Furthermore, most workers do not have revolutionary consciousness and will not join. How can the workers defend themselves and the trade

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Correspondence and subscriptions to:
Torch
P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
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Subscriptions (U.S., Canada, Mexico):
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12 issues (one year) \$3.00
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IWP Destroys Unemployed League

The founding convention of the Nationwide Unemployed League (NWUL), held in New York on December 27-28, was strangled by the reactionary and crackpot line of the International Workers Party (IWP). Before the close of the convention the Revolutionary Socialist League, which had been one of several organizations participating in the United Front Committee to Build the NWUL, severed all relations with this "unemployed organization."

The RSL had joined the United Front Committee because the struggle to organize the unemployed and the demand for full employment are decisive for the working class. However, the convention made clear that there was no chance of the NWUL playing a positive role in building the struggle.

The IWP stacked the convention. Well over half of those present were IWPers. They used this majority to prevent presentation time on any proposed programs for the NWUL other than their own.

Their program was the political companion to their organizational bureaucratism. It was a technocratic call for the world's masses to pressure the capitalists to rationalize the present world economy. Behind the cover of deceptively appealing slogans such as "expand food and fusion power production" and "world economic planning," the IWP quietly shoved to

the background the key question: Who will control production, the workers or the capitalists? If the capitalists can expand production at all, it will be at the expense of the workers and at the cost of more unemployed and lower wages for the employed. This is what the IWP's program really called for and what the IWP really wants.

80 FOR 40?

The clearest proof was the IWP's opposition to the RSL's proposal that the NWUL demand a shorter work week with no loss of pay to provide more jobs—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. The IWP argued that 30 for 40 "threatens the productivity of the capitalist system"! Why doesn't the IWP call for "80 for 40"—doubling the work week to really soak the workers and really help the bosses' productivity?

The IWP line may sound familiar. The psychotic National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has long had the same focus on rationalizing the capitalist system because of its petty-bourgeois fear of the economic crisis and lack of faith in the workers' ability to run society. This line has led the NCLC down the disgusting path to where it is today: playing cops against "disruptions" by left-wing militants.

The IWP was formed a year ago by a small group expelled from the

NCLC. It is trying to recreate the NCLC of three to four years ago—anti-working class, but not as goonish as today's version.

Opposition to 30 for 40 was just one expression of the IWP's contempt for the power and organization of the working class. The struggle to win the unions to its program or the fight to overthrow the pro-capitalist bureaucracy is not even mentioned in passing in its program for the NWUL. The IWP believes that it is futile to challenge the labor bureaucracy's hold over the unions. Consequently, it opposes the call for a labor party based on the trade unions and including the unorganized and unemployed.

MAKE WAY FOR . . . DR. SPOCK!

The IWP prefers to tell the workers to vote for . . . Benjamin Spock! Tired old Dr. Spock was dragged in at the last minute to address the convention in the name of the openly petty-bourgeois "People's Party." The convention duly endorsed Spock's party. In the IWPers' deluded minds, baby doctors provide more defense for the working class than do the trade unions. Like the NCLC, the IWP will tail after every faker with a scheme to reform capitalism.

The RSL waged a battle against the IWP's opportunism. The RSL submitted a counter-program to that of the United Front Majority, a program

which put the unity, defense and struggle for power of the working class in the forefront of the struggle to organize the unemployed.

Fearing that open debate and discussion might sway the few independent working class elements that attended, the IWP limited the entire discussion of the program and constitution to two speakers in favor and two speakers against—three minutes each. When an RSL supporter moved to amend the convention rules to allow for discussion, he was ruled out of order.

On the final day of the convention the RSL appealed to all honest elements at the convention to jointly break from the NWUL. The RSL warned that the IWP's bureaucratic domination of the Convention and its anti-working class line sealed the fate of the NWUL. This warning was confirmed in shorter time than could have been imagined. It was immediately after the RSL withdrew that the IWP announced that Spock would address the Convention—this without having notified or obtained agreement from the other organizations participating in the United Front.

The convention showed that the NWUL is an IWP front group and a technocratic obstacle to employed and unemployed workers. It is not, however, a foregone conclusion that the NWUL will disappear. If the IWP is able to continue pumping personnel and funds into the NWUL on the same scale as in recent months, this political corpse may yet walk about. Therefore, all workers must be aware of its anti-working class character.

Detroit: Build Defense Against Racist Terror!

A wave of racist attacks on black people has swept Detroit in recent months. The outrageous slaying of black Obie Wynn by bar-owner and cop-lover Andrew Chinarian and the cross-burning at the home of Ruby Coney on Detroit's East Side are two of the more dramatic examples of this racist offensive. Playing on the fears and insecurity of white workers and petty bourgeois and lumpen elements faced with unemployment, inflation and urban rot, racist demagogues seek to mobilize these elements to attack black people.

With the implementation of a court-ordered busing plan on January 26, it can be expected that these decadent racist attacks will mount. Already, the openly fascist National Socialist White Peoples Party has littered the streets of Detroit with their anti-working class filth. Recently, these vermin canvassed door-to-door in the northwest suburb of Livonia spreading their hate literature. Meanwhile, Donald Lobsinger's Breakthrough and the equally vile Mothers' Alert have stepped up efforts to inflame racist anti-busing sentiment in the Motor City.

FOR A CITY-WIDE UNITED FRONT

Detroit workers cannot allow this riffraff to gain the upper hand. Workers' defense guards must be mobilized in every union, factory and community to send these scum back to the sewers where they belong. If left unchallenged, they will grow bolder and stronger.

This was the central message of an RSL-sponsored forum held in Detroit on December 14, featuring speakers from the Livernois Five Defense Committee, the East Side defense (see the last issue of the Torch) and the Revolutionary Socialist League. The

forum marked the beginning of the League's campaign for a city-wide united front to smash the racist attacks.

The mother of one of the defendants in the Livernois Five case drove this point home in a discussion of her involvement in the defense campaign. When the League first approached her about building the defense, she did not think that anything could be done. As the campaign gained support, she realized that not only could political struggle defeat the attempted railroad, but that this fight had to be taken up by the working class as a whole. She ended by calling for those involved in the Livernois Five campaign to take up the defense of black students facing racist attacks and the fight for jobs for all.

Placing the struggle to free the Livernois Five and the defense of the East Side homes in the context of the tasks posed by the approach of busing, the RSL spokesman stressed the need for the unity and confidence gained in these struggles to be carried forward into the defense of the black students. Particular emphasis was given to the need to take the fight into the unions, the only mass organizations of the working class.

The task of mobilizing the UAW for defense has already begun. Supporters of the Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee, a group politically supported by the RSL, initiated a campaign for union defense committees in a number of Detroit UAW locals. A petition drive is being built to organize support for resolutions calling on the UAW to establish defense committees in every local. These committees will be responsible for organizing defense guards in the locals to counter any attacks launched by the racists.



Community support rally to free the Livernois Five, sponsored by the Livernois Five Defense Committee. RSL is actively working to build a united front city-wide defense organization to defeat the mounting racist attacks in Detroit.

The major obstacle to be overcome in the campaign is the UAW bureaucracy itself. These misleaders have consistently refused to lift a finger in building this defense. They cynically tell auto workers to rely on the bosses' paid thugs, the police, for protection. Black UAW members, whose children will be under direct attack, should know what to expect from the same police department that was responsible for the STRESS murder units a few short years ago. The Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee's campaign is one part of the struggle to take the UAW out of the hands of these class traitors and turn it into a powerful weapon for the defense of the working class.

COPS vs. WORKERS DEFENSE

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young has also taken great pains to assure the black community that the cops can be counted on to do their job. Coming on the heels of the Livernois-Fenkell street confrontations, Young's "assurance" is actually a threat. For over a week last summer, the cops acted as an army of occupation in the black community. The result of the cops

"doing their job" was the arrest of over 100 black youths and the attempt to railroad the Livernois Five.

On the East Side, off-duty policemen have been directly involved in the racist attempt to drive three black families out of their homes. When the defense of the homes was organized, the cops attempted to intimidate and harass the defense guards coming to and from the homes. Coleman Young, the union bureaucrats and the NAACP will continue to cover for the cops while bused black children are subjected to racist terror.

UNITY NEEDED

The only force capable of offering any real defense is a working class organized and conscious of its tasks. Despite the desperate need for unity, the working class remains divided and under the influence of various misleaderships. All those organizations which claim to stand for a class defense of the black students must join the struggle to build a united front against the racists. The defense against racist attacks is the first line of defense for the entire Detroit working class.

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Angola...

Continued from page 5

Russians to agree to play cop. At the same time, the U.S. gets new areas for investment and sources of raw materials to ease its economic crisis.

The detente can be at most a brief truce in open imperialist rivalry for two central reasons: First, each superpower is driven by the needs of capital accumulation and economic crisis to expand its sector. The collapse of the post-war boom will set them at each other's throats. Second, any attempt to reach equilibrium runs into the disruptive force of mass struggle. And the imperialists know this. Within the context of detente both sides continue to maneuver for strategic advantage.

Angola is rocking the detente because the forces undermining the truce have converged there.

The Russians would like to let the U.S. save face in Angola. But their main weapon against the U.S. continues to be the ability to manipulate mass struggle. Few Africans would take seriously Russian declarations of support for national liberation if they baldly sold out the MPLA. It would take years to rebuild the prestige lost. Russian imperialism is loath to give up its ideological weapon, its prestige in Africa and the strategic advantages that a friendly government in Angola would give it.

The U.S., smarting from the loss of



MPLA troops are fighting for Angolan independence. Socialists support MPLA victory.

Southeast Asia, is trying to draw the line. U.S. defeat in Angola would inspire the masses elsewhere and further threaten the American empire. It would be a strategic blow that would threaten U.S. military control of the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, and endanger U.S. invest-

ments and pro-U.S. regimes throughout the world. U.S. defeat in all of Africa would be on the horizon.

Therefore, the need to maneuver for strategic advantage (to preserve and later expand power) and the pressure of the mass struggle have provoked the Angolan confrontation. Angola may not crack the detente. It is possible that the U.S. liberals may convince the American capitalists to avoid another Vietnam. At the same time, the Russians may pressure the MPLA to accept a coalition government in which they have the upper hand. This would save face for the U.S. and allow for American capitalists retaining their investments, while at the same time strengthening the Russian position and pointing to eventual complete takeover by the MPLA.

But whether or not the Angolan situation is resolved so as to preserve detente, the same forces at work there will sooner or later topple the imperialist alliance. The U.S. cannot give up Latin America or Europe, and when powerful movements threaten U.S. domination the detente will be drowned in a sea of anti-communism. The Russians, driven by the needs of imperialist expansion, sooner or later must attempt to extend their influence still further into the U.S. sphere. The conflicting imperialist strategies must lead to the resumption of open conflict leading to nuclear war.

There is one factor that can derail the ambitions of both superpowers—

the class struggle. In Angola the struggle is currently confined by a Russian-leaning national liberation movement. Nevertheless, this movement aims mainly at U.S. imperialism—an MPLA victory would weaken the U.S. position and could spark the black proletariat of Luanda and all of South Africa to struggle for socialism. But at all times, the working class must explain that liberation from U.S. imperialism on a capitalist basis can produce, at most limited gains and temporary independence—the Third World nations cannot break the bonds of the world market, and therefore the choice for the toiling masses is either socialist revolution or domination by U.S. or Russian imperialism.

Just as the detente must crumble, so must the Russians' ability to play their imperialist game with the aspirations of the masses. The struggles which Russia today tries to manipulate will become the struggles that will bring about the fall of both superpowers by the world proletarian revolution.

Correction

Because of a production error, the article "China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line" in last month's Torch implied that Dhofar was a province of Iran. Dhofar is a province of Oman. For a more detailed treatment of the struggle centered there, see page 6 of this issue.

RSL...

Continued from page 13

unions, how can they engage in the absolutely necessary political struggle?

Here is where Landy runs out of answers, precisely where revolutionaries must put forward concrete solutions to the problems facing the workers. Instead of raising the Labor Party as a united front slogan and through it both presenting an immediate political vehicle and providing a means to fight for a revolutionary party, Landy opposes this call. Instead of offering real leadership in the struggle and in so doing, fighting for the revolutionary program, Landy blithers about the "International General Strike for a Workers' Government" and remains in his idealist dream world. Better to posture, to pretend to be revolutionary, thinks Landy. And what could look more revolutionary than opposing the call for a Labor Party? Never mind that this means refusing to provide real leadership to defend the material interests of the class. Much better to posture!

According to Landy, the League was degenerating. The proof? Our decision to retain the Labor Party slogan! If that wasn't enough, Landy proceeded to escalate his charges of political degeneration, bureaucratization and cliquism while refusing to write a counter-perspective putting forward his views of what the organization should do. The League's "degeneration" never seemed to find its way into our concrete work; at any rate Landy never found any concrete criticisms of it. And Landy's amendments proposed a leadership whose majority consisted of the same "cliquists and bureaucrats" who were charged with leading the League to centrism and worse. (Of course, Landy was slated to remain in the leadership; wasn't that the whole issue anyway?)

This state of affairs continued for three months, slander was added to slander but still no perspective was written, and finally the League (with the exception of a handful of long-time personal followers who were incapable of explaining, let alone defending, Landy's "insights") rejected Landy's absurdities. Landy had proved only one thing in these three months: His slanders, maneuvers and failure to take himself or the organization seriously proved that he had no business in a revolutionary organization. Landy had worn out his "last chances"; the League decided to expel him.

Was the League degenerating because it

refused to throw out the Labor Party slogan when Landy decided it was and could only be a reformist slogan? This was his charge. If the Central Committee resolution was leading the League to centrism, why no perspective showing the way to Bolshevism from Landy? If the leadership is made up of bureaucrats and cliquists, why propose to retain it? If the League was degenerating, why was Landy unable to demonstrate this through criticisms of the practical activity of the organization? The very posing of the questions reveals Landy's cynicism and lack of Bolshevik honesty.

The answer is clear. At precisely the point when the organization was professionalizing, when its actual working class activity was beginning to bear fruit, Landy got scared, fearing he would have no place in an organization that puts a premium on clarity, responsibility and discipline (unless he could hide behind his position on the PC). When it was proposed to remove him from that body, he panicked and searched for any pretext, no matter how flimsy, to make his struggle look political.

Landy didn't come up with a counter-perspective because he didn't have one. He didn't come up with criticisms of our work because he didn't have any. He didn't come up with a counter-leadership because he knew that the League's leadership was not leading the organization to centrism. All he had were a few half-baked ideas on the Labor Party which his mind conceived as a perspective, criticism and counter-leadership.

The root of Landy's behavior, and in fact of his whole political history, is a fear to bring revolutionary politics to the working class and fear of building a truly proletarian revolutionary party. This is the Shachtmanism that Landy has never broken from, despite having played two years ago with "insights" about Trotskyism. In the IS, pacifist and reformist ideas were good enough for the working class. Realizing the bankruptcy of this approach after 20 years, Landy flipped around and developed a perspective that was revolutionary on paper but which he had no desire to put into practice in the working class. While the League was caught up in passive propagandism, Landy was fine. When it broke from its abstentionist errors, and began to bring its program to the working class through struggle, Landy freaked out. His removal from the PC was just one aspect of the struggle to break from propagandism and to build a truly proletarian revolutionary organization. His failure to accept his removal and his resulting petty-bourgeois antics placed him outside the revolutionary organization.

Landy...

Continued from page 13

years of Shachtmanism." In fact your position on the "democratic and trade unionist" stage and the labor party that is needed for this stage is the hallmark of Shachtmanism as it developed. You broke from Shachtmanism with the founding of the League and are now returning to a variant of it. That is why your capitulation to democratic and trade unionist consciousness must be fought tooth and nail.

If your charge of my "Shachtmanism" were true, it would turn against the entire League since you admit that I "undoubtedly made theoretical and programmatic contributions to the League." As a Shachtmanite? Comrades, you betray yourselves. You charge "Shachtmanism" only for public consumption, not in the trumped-up charges that you actually used internally to expel me. "Shachtmanism" is brought up because anyone who has read a little of Trotsky knows that it is bad. Your charge was designed for the Pabloites, and it has nothing to do with your case against me.

You lie in your article about my functioning, "which led to his removal from post after post..." and then you list them: posts you removed me from, posts that expired, posts that I transferred from to do other tasks, etc. Your incessant lying is itself the result of political forces. You substitute bureaucracy and manipulation for class politics and principled maneuvers because that is what strikes you as possible now. It results from your defeatist attitude towards the working class' capabilities, which in turn results from the impact on you of alien class forces and their petty-bourgeois outlook.

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